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# *The Shape of Things*

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THE NOBLE-HEARTED AMERICAN IRON AND Steel Institute is set on protecting its workers from labor agitators. In a statement issued on June 29 the institute announced that a campaign for union organization had been promised by "persons and organizations not connected with the industry" (how news does get around these days!); that "there are many disturbing indications that the promoters of the campaign will employ coercion and intimidation . . . and foment strikes"; and then to make its position perfectly clear, the institute adds that it will use all its resources (and five billion dollars are a lot of resources) to prevent the adoption of the closed shop. Not, of course, that the industry is opposed to unions. On the contrary, "the overwhelming majority of the employees of the steel industry recently participated in annual elections under their own representation plans and elected their representatives for collective bargaining." But these are comfortable company unions which the industry feels thoroughly able to control—by labor rats and the black list if necessary, as recent investigations have amply shown. What the industry objects to are organizers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, with the sponsorship and the organizing resources of John L. Lewis. What it objects to, in other words, is bona fide collective bargaining which would be a challenge to the power of steel's masters. In reply the C. I. O. is unkind enough to point out the curious similarity between the institute's statement on collective bargaining and that of the Republican platform and to declare that it will proceed with its organizing campaign regardless.

*

HAILE SELASSIE'S BELATED STAND FOR ETHIOpian independence on the battlefields of Geneva can hardly do more than embarrass the League in lifting sanctions against Italy. Under the pressure of the British Tory government the majority of League states have given up the struggle to preserve even the principle of punishment of a successful aggressor. The new government in France, which might have been expected to support the League Covenant, has very naturally drawn back from a step which threatened to isolate France with respect to its three most powerful neighbors. With sanctions already buried, the real battle is expected on the subsidiary point of recognizing Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. While the precedent set in the Manchurian affair makes it vir-

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tually impossible for the League to acknowledge Italy's conquest, the powers are unwilling to take action which would "offend" Mussolini lest he withdraw from the League he has all but wrecked. Consequently, if any mention is made of Italy's guilt, it will be in the most guarded language. These developments have played directly into Hitler's hands. With the prospect of punitive action by the League eliminated, France as well as Britain has made direct overtures to Germany, Delbos going so far as to say that he did not "question the word of a former combatant who during four years experienced the misery of the trenches." To read the hopeful statements emanating from London and Paris one would almost think that no Eastern Europe exists—which is exactly what Hitler desires.

*

WAR HAS NOT YET BROKEN OUT IN CHINA, and each day that the threatened hostilities between Nanking and Canton are deferred increases the possibility that the civil strife will give way to a straight Sino-Japanese conflict. Feeling between the two countries has reached fever pitch with Japan once more taking the aggressive. Tokyo has filed a vigorous protest against the firing by Chinese customs vessels on Japanese smugglers, and the Chinese in turn have been incensed by the arrogant conduct of the recently strengthened Japanese garrison in Peiping. A report from Chinese sources asserts that two department-store employees were recently arrested in Tientsin charged with selling goods bearing a trademark which pictured a girl standing under a parasol. This trademark was interpreted by the Japanese as counsel to resist the sun, which to them could only refer to the Japanese Empire. It is not impossible that the hint will be accepted. While it is scarcely to be expected that the hand-picked delegates who will be present at the Kuomintang national congress on July 10 will go so far as to support the South's war of "national salvation," there is an excellent chance that the compromise on domestic issues which must precede a united stand against Japanese aggression will be reached.

*

WHILE THE DEMOCRATS WERE DISPORTING themselves at Philadelphia, the Communist Party was conducting a political convention of its own in New York. There were certain superficial similarities between the two conventions. Both listened to endless speeches denouncing their political enemies; both prepared platforms and nominated their Presidential candidates by acclamation; and both staged prolonged demonstrations for their party leaders. In contrast to the playboy atmosphere at Philadelphia, however, the Communists sought to face the essential political issues of our time in an adult manner. Their platform dealt with a number of vital issues which both the major parties had carefully dodged. It favored a constitutional amendment to curb the Supreme Court, increased taxation on the higher incomes, drastic legislation against lynching, the Frazier-Lundeen social-insurance bill, and cooperation with the League of Nations in the enforcement of peace. The vast majority of these specific recommendations can, as the platform points out, be realized within the capitalist system. But at the present stage of American political development, there is little hope of achieving even these limited objectives either through the major parties or through an avowedly revolutionary organization such as the Communist Party. If they are to be achieved at all, it will be through a party based primarily on labor and embracing all the left groups.

*

THE FIGHT BETWEEN PHIL LA FOLLETTE AND the Socialists in Wisconsin ended temporarily in a draw at the conclusion of the convention of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation at Oshkosh on June 21. The federation did not indorse the Governor but named no candidate to run against him. It pointed out that its constitution permitted indorsement only of federation members, and Governor La Follette had declined to join. The production-for-use slogan was not repeated in the platform, but on the other hand it was not removed from the Declaration of Principles, and a paragraph on public corporations made clear the federation's stand in favor of the socialization of industry. The main fact to remember is that the federation did not split or dissolve, but will abide by its resolution to build a real farmer-labor party in the state, looking toward a national party by 1940. It hopes this fall to elect a complete legislative slate, thus ending the conflict between Progressives and Socialists which has enabled the two old parties to hold the balance of power. No Presidential candidate was indorsed in spite of a movement, which was vociferously defeated, to support the new Union Party of Mr. Lemke. The group promises to make a considerable show of strength in November and to be worth watching four years hence.

*

NO WORSE LEGISLATION WAS PASSED BY THE expiring Congress than that providing for direct ship subsidies. What this bill does is to create a new group of the specially privileged, and to establish an industry which openly declares that it cannot live without government support. Those receiving the dole will become a vested interest with the powerful argument on their side that if the government stops pouring money into their laps their business will fail, goods will be carried by others, and many Americans will be thrown out of work. Mr. Roosevelt, as an intelligent man, must be aware of all this, as of the indisputable fact that no such system of subsidies has ever been established in this country without bringing with it graft, scandal, and corruption. He has yielded to it partly because of the obvious disgrace and "honest" graft attending the present mail subsidies, but mainly because of the argument that we must have a large reserve merchant fleet for the next war. So the government will give 50 per cent of the cost of new ships to the builders and lend 25 per cent more! Assistant Secretary of Commerce Johnson in speech after speech demands that 350 additional vessels be built at once, without inquiring whether there is the slightest economic need for them or whether

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there will be any cargoes for them to carry. Failure to build these ships, he asserts, is a "potential danger to national defense." Thus the ship-subsidy act has become part and parcel of the rapid militarization of the United States.

*

EVEN AS PREMIER OF FRANCE, LEON BLUM IS A man little known to the general public. That he has had a distinguished career in literature as well as in politics is hardly realized outside his own country. The *Lumière,* the leading weekly of the French left, publishes an essay on Blum as a poet, critic, and social philosopher which reveals the wide range of his mind and activities. Along with André Gide, Pierre Louys, and Paul Valéry, he made his debut in letters at the time of the flowering of the symbolist epoch in France. His first sonnets were published in the ephemeral and rarefied journals issued by his fellow-symbolists in their reaction against the commercialized literature of the boulevards. Later, with Henri Barbusse, he became a contributing editor to the *Banquet,* founded by Marcel Proust and expressive of the newly aroused political, social, and intellectual curiosity of the times. Then came the Dreyfus case, which gave Blum his baptism in the realities of the fight for social justice. In this impassioned era he was swept into contact with Jaurès and the young Socialists, but as yet he did not enter the field of practical politics, preferring to continue the fight with his pen rather than on the rostrum. After the excitement over Dreyfus died down, Blum temporarily set aside his interest in social questions to become one of the leading dramatic critics of the day. He achieved distinction also for critical essays on Goethe and Stendhal, his favorite authors, and for his famous treatise on marriage, which greatly influenced Bertrand Russell's writings on the same subject. There is a certain irony in the spectacle of a man of Blum's type heading a labor government. Whether the two can be welded into a successful whole remains to be seen.

*

THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT OMISSION IN THE latest press release on the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the milk industry. Nowhere in the twelve-page summary is the name of a single distributor given. This is a reversal of the original policy, and probably indicates that the milk trust has brought pressure to bear on the FTC to give them the shield of anonymity. The government also seems to have had a change of heart on the evils of monopolistic control. The satisfactory conditions found to exist in Baltimore were attributed "in part to the comparatively few milk distributors operating in the Baltimore sales area." A more important factor is undoubtedly the strength of the producers' association, the Maryland Cooperative Milk Producers. However, the distributors have quite consistently shown high net returns, which indicates that even when the producers are in a position to demand a square deal the distributors can still manage to make a substantial profit. Their largest item of expense is, of course, for delivery and selling, accounting for approximately 60 per cent of the total operating expenses. Part of the apparent high cost of delivery is attributed to the distributors' method of bookkeeping. Although milk, cream, cheese, eggs, and other commodities are carried on a milk wagon, the companies charge almost the entire cost of delivery to milk, on which they are thus enabled to show a smaller book profit. The FTC points to the need for a new method of allocating delivery costs. A more important reform would be to eliminate the duplication of service on the same routes. If we must have monopoly, we could do without fictitious competition.

*

THE ARTICLE BY LEON TROTSKY ON FRANCE, on another page of this issue, and the symposium of protest and praise for Benjamin Stolberg's much-discussed article on the Jews may serve as occasion for a fresh declaration of editorial policy. We say again that the opinions expressed in signed articles and reviews are not necessarily the opinions of the editors. We take full responsibility only for what appears in the editorial columns. The demands we make upon our signed contributions are only that they shall be fresh, authoritative, important.

# *Mr. Roosevelt Holds Fast*

THE tumult and the shouting have died down both in Cleveland and in Philadelphia. The captains and the kings of all political stripes have departed. What trial balance shall we strike? Let us dispose first of the newspaper and radio judgments now repeated for the thousandth time. Let us agree that never have nominating conventions been duller, never have they seemed so much like pepped-up carnivals, never have the delegates been so reduced to the role of puppets and noise machines as they were at both conventions. What remains?

What remains is that the issue is now squarely joined. The Republicans have shown that seven years of depression have taught them nothing fundamental about statesmanship and that three years of absence from office have only sharpened their hunger. That was the meaning of the noise at Cleveland. Much of the noise at Philadelphia may be set down to an equally strong Democratic hunger for continuing in office. But not all. The Democratic platform and Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance speech go beyond the greed of office-holding or the intoxication of convention ballyhoo. It is to Mr. Roosevelt's credit that he has seen the wisdom and necessity of holding fast to the essential achievements of the past three years. This does not mean that there has been no straddling. Actually a vast amount of ingenuity was spent in drafting a platform that will go down as one of the smoothest literary and intellectual performances in party history. But the skill was expended in dressing up something that has a real core to it. Mr. Roosevelt has served notice on the tories in both parties that, whatever may be the chances of a further leftward movement, he has no intention of going backward.

As compared with the abysmally weak Republican platform, the Democrats have prepared an extremely clever document. They have exploited to the utmost the contrast

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between the three years of steady recovery under Roosevelt and the economic débâcle under Hoover. When read uncritically, the mere listing of the measures adopted by the Roosevelt Administration to combat the depression and aid the common man is impressive and makes the Republican criticisms appear carping and inconsequential.

There can be no question that the Democratic platform is considerably to the left of the Republican. Whereas the Republicans are completely oblivious to such problems as those of the consumer, housing, youth, and neutrality, the Democrats have recognized that millions of Americans are seriously concerned with these issues. They have accepted the principle of government responsibility for the unemployed and are not completely blind to the anti-social practices of the great corporations. They promise to continue the New Deal campaign against the utilities through the extension of the "yardstick" method.

The rhetoric of the farm plank is Roosevelt, but the substance is Henry Wallace. Therefore the plank is unusually explicit, for platform material, and has an unusual tone of sincerity. What it promises in effect is to carry forward the policies worked out by Wallace in the last three years. Excessive surpluses are to be controlled by a thorough conservation and domestic-allotment plan; federal finance is to be applied toward reducing interest charges on loans; cooperation is to be encouraged; efforts are to be made to extend markets at home and abroad. The platform recognizes the evils of farm tenancy, but unfortunately fails to say explicitly what is to be done about it; imperfect context implies that federal loans may be used to transform tenants into owners. Unlike the corresponding plank of the Republican platform, the Democratic plank promises nothing that cannot be performed. It promises nothing that the Democrats do not intend to perform. Credit for this is due to Henry Wallace. A better plank would have read: We intend to keep Henry Wallace in his post and back him to the limit in his plans for placing American agriculture on a sound footing.

The Democrats can also point to concrete measures to aid both the farmer and the consumer by reciprocal tariff reduction. In fact, their international plank is vastly stronger than that of the Republicans. While no mention is made of international cooperation for the maintenance of peace through pacts of collective security or otherwise, the platform comes out specifically against war as an instrument of national policy, and is realistic enough to see that the urge for profits and the commitments of international bankers are among the most important causes of war. There is an ominous silence, however, regarding the munitions makers, and there is no mention of the hundreds of millions of American dollars which Roosevelt is squandering annually on a war machine patently designed for offensive purposes.

The greatest weakness of the platform as a practical

*"Goodby, and Here's Your Brown Derby!"*

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political document lies in the appalling discrepancy between its promises and the record of the Administration during the past three years. It is very pleasant, for example, to read that the Democrats "will act to secure to the consumer fair value," until one recalls the fate of the food-and-drug bill at the hands of a Democratic Congress and the manner in which the consumer divisions of the NRA and the AAA were sabotaged at every turn by Democratic politicians. Similarly, one might be inspired by the statement that the party is "determined to erect a structure of economic security for all our people" if one did not know the details of the cumbersome, inadequate Social Security Act, with its vicious system of reserves which at best will provide protection for less than half of the unemployed and, on a federal basis, for scarcely a third of the aged. The platform's pious words regarding the necessity for government housing will mean very little to the 15,000,000 American families now living in homes that do not measure up to the minimum standard of decent housing, for it will not be forgotten that the Administration has stressed the need for a housing program since the early days of 1933—and has built no houses.

It is scarcely reassuring, moreover, to have the party come out in a campaign year, within a week of the adjournment of Congress, with a statement saying that the government should provide work *at prevailing wages* for the millions who cannot find jobs in industry, when the best that the party achieved in three years was the temporary employment, in the CWA, of four million out of twelve million unemployed, and when this program has now been pared down until only one jobless man out of four is employed by the government, and at one-half to two-thirds the prevailing wage. The promise to guard the freedom of the radio would be much more impressive if the FCC had not just handed down its ruling forbidding the rebroadcasting of foreign programs without its consent.

Merely to list the planks which the Democrats should have included would take more space than we have at our disposal. Fundamental, of course, would have been a plank calling for an amendment to the Constitution ending the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court. We believe also that the Democrats could have strengthened their position in the country if they had come out definitely for child-labor and minimum-wage legislation, advanced an adequate relief program, advocated specific steps to preserve civil liberties, and openly favored nationalization of the munitions industry. There is a strong popular feeling against all forms of repressive measures, and a courageous stand against such un-American influences as are expressed in the Kramer sedition bill, the loyalty oaths, and deportation of aliens seeking political asylum might have done much to revive the wavering faith of left-wing groups in Mr. Roosevelt's sincerity.

Taken as a whole, the platform is better than was generally expected. So was Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance speech. It had what the Republicans have so often accused him of lacking—taste and dignity. It made everything that had gone before seem shrill and inconsequential. Let there be no mistake about it: it did not make a proletarian leader out of a patrician, nor did it make Mr. Roosevelt a potential leader in a labor party. It showed only that the President has intelligence, that he is sensitive to the major winds of doctrine of today, and that he can catch and express the aspirations of the lower middle classes. It showed Mr. Roosevelt's recognition that we are living in a new economic universe, and that the forces that threaten popular freedom today are not the political bugbears of the past but the very real economic tyrannies of the present. Mr. Roosevelt has come to see that the role of the Democratic Party is a conservative one—to make to the rising forces of labor and the common man the concessions which alone can keep the prevailing social system intact. That is the meaning of Mr. Roosevelt's liberalism.

He has recognized what we must all recognize—that the rank and file of Americans are more radical than either of their two major parties. For the present, American radicalism must curb itself because it fears the uncharted future and because no new leadership has yet emerged. But when as practical a politician as Mr. Roosevelt talks about economic royalists, then most Americans respond. We must remember, however, that speeches, however persuasive they are and however much they may quote Dante, are not enough. The continuance of Mr. Roosevelt's liberalism can be assured only by the growing strength of organization among labor and professional groups and education among the middle-class groups. More important than any campaign developments will be what happens this summer in the steel regions around Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Chicago, and Birmingham.

# *How Free Is the Air?*

IN ONE of the most amazing rulings ever issued by a governmental body in this country the Federal Communications Commission has forbidden the rebroadcasting of foreign programs without its written permission. When the order becomes effective on July 1, it will mark the abandonment for radio of every pretense of adherence to the proud tradition of freedom of speech and thought. The indifference of the public is almost as amazing as the ruling itself. The general press has remained strangely silent; even the most vocal defenders of our civil liberties have not raised their voices; and the commercial broadcasters are unwilling, especially at a time when hearings on the reallocation of the radio spectrum are being held, to show resentment or to assert their independence.

The right of the FCC to issue such an order might easily be challenged. Under Section 326 of the act creating the commission the power of censorship except as to obscene, indecent, or profane language is expressly denied. By a broad interpretation of the provision which makes the issuance of a license to broadcast dependent on "public convenience, interest, or necessity," the old Radio Commission, as well as its successor, the Communications Commission, has of course indirectly censored radio programs. But this censorship, even though an established fact, has always been officially denied. The new ruling, therefore,

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constitutes the first admission that the FCC is in reality the dictator of the American radio world.

What prompted the FCC to make such a dangerous admission is hard to divine. The commission's most useful alibi has always been that it had no power to censor programs. The danger from foreign propagandists must certainly have seemed great to have induced the commission to uncover its hand. Although there has been considerable use of radio by foreign propagandists, the novelty of foreign broadcasts to the American radio audience is beginning to wear off. But the commission is evidently thinking of future contingencies. The role it now essays is highly perilous. Permitting or refusing to permit the broadcasting of certain programs may very well be accepted by European countries as indicative of national policy and may arouse considerable antagonism. But these obvious problems and their rather terrifying implications apparently do not trouble the commission nearly so much as the fear that foreign governments will use the radio to spread their subversive propaganda.

The new ruling is made ridiculous by the inability of the FCC to censor the programs heard by owners of short-wave sets. It is estimated that there are now approximately six million short-wave sets in use, and the proud owners, their families, and friends can listen directly to the European broadcasts which the twenty million owners of standard sets may not be permitted to hear. Eventually the FCC may find it necessary to adopt the Nazi practice of censorship by interference with the air waves.

There is a significant exception to the ruling on rebroadcasting. If the program is transmitted entirely by telephone facilities, it does not come under the ban. This exception might almost have been written by the telephone companies themselves. It is a direct subsidy to them. But the commission's intention was far more subtle than appears on the surface. Wealthy chain stations use telephone facilities to obtain foreign programs for rebroadcast; small stations pick up their programs from the air waves. The new regulations are aimed only at the little fellows and are intended to discourage them from disseminating too much foreign news. The chains representing huge capital investments are considered safe and less in need of strict censorship. The commission's rules are masterpieces of ingenuity—without mentioning the large stations, they succeed in giving them a monopoly on foreign programs, they effectively check rebroadcasting of "dangerous" material, and they gratuitously increase the business of the telephone companies.

These rules were announced at a time when criticism was certain to be smothered in the apparently more important discussion of the reallocation of radio channels and in the hearings on the ultra-high wave lengths. The manner in which the FCC will distribute the new wave lengths, its handling of the claims of the powerful networks which now control all but a few of the cleared channels, place it in a very powerful position. Great things are promised by the radio experts—television, newspapers printed by facsimile, bigger and better programs. But all of these are rendered unimportant in the light of the now publicly announced policy of government censorship.

# *Mrs. Warren's Profession*

THE excellent work of Thomas E. Dewey and his associates in bringing about the conviction of Charles Luciano and eight of his confederates should not be allowed to set the public mind at rest on the vital problem of prostitution in our great cities. It was no part of Mr. Dewey's work to attack the problem itself; his concern was with breaking up a group of gangsters who were levying tribute on an illegal business. The business remains, and so long as women are jobless or wretchedly underpaid it will flourish whether it is legal or not.

While economic pressure drives women to sell their bodies, criminal prosecution of prostitutes will continue to reek of social hypocrisy. It will also retain the aspect of persecution, more especially since only the prostitute suffers. It is a criminal offense to cause another person to commit prostitution, but in practice the man who employs a prostitute is never molested—no doubt for the obvious reason that such a course would place a great many of our most highly respected citizens in the category of criminals. But in this discrimination between buyer and seller lies a great menace to public health. For the men who visit houses of prostitution return to homes throughout the community, carrying with them the danger of venereal disease to the members of their families—a danger which is strikingly illustrated by the fact that of eighty-eight prostitutes recently arrested in the city of New York, sixty-nine were found to be syphilitic, and by the further fact that 23 per cent of all prostitutes arrested in this city are found to be suffering from syphilis. On this aspect of the "social evil" the law is silent. The authorities have no power to compel the diseased prostitute to undergo treatment. In practice the Department of Correction does compel the convicted prostitute to take treatment by making it the condition of early release under an indeterminate sentence. About the woman who is acquitted it can do nothing.

These facts are sufficient proof that the whole theory and procedure in handling this problem need revision. The conviction of Luciano and his gang brought before the public a plan which Magistrate Anna M. Kross submitted to the Mayor of New York over a year ago. This plan contemplates placing the apprehension of persons engaged in prostitution in the hands of socially trained medical workers; substituting for the Women's Court an informal tribunal composed of a doctor, a psychiatrist, and a lawyer, with full power to apprehend and detain offenders under a "liberal, modern, scientific social-health code applicable to both sexes"; and substituting for criminal sentence "a medical, psychological, and social diagnosis on the basis of which appropriate treatment will be prescribed to meet the needs of the individual offender, utilizing all the community's resources for protection . . . and guidance."

Mr. Dewey's work is done, and well done. Mrs. Warren's profession proceeds as usual. It is high time for an intelligent revision of our social code along the lines indicated by Magistrate Kross.

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# WASHINGTON WEEKLY

BY PAUL W. WARD

## Landon's Labor Record

*Topeka, Kansas, June 29*

THERE are three ways to judge a Presidential candidate, and only one of them is any good. One is to judge him by what he says he stands for. Another is to gauge him by what he has stood for. Comparing what he says he will do with what he actually has done is the best. Let's apply the third method here to Alf M. Landon with specific references to those issues in the Presidential campaign which bear most directly on his liberal pretensions—the Constitution, labor, relief, and social security.

Take first the constitutional issue, noting at the start that Landon thought he had Roosevelt topped on that score and that Roosevelt would not dare go so far as he had gone in his message to the Cleveland convention. Landon said in that message that he wanted the voters to know he would not hesitate to urge amendment of the Constitution when, as, and if it was demonstrated that under the present Constitution the states could not enact valid legislation to establish minimum wages for women and children in industry. He has declined to date to say how long he thinks it will take to provide the demonstration needed.

Apparently, however, it would take a long time to satisfy Landon. The records of his own state show that Kansas had a minimum-wage law for women and children until July 11, 1925, when the state Supreme Court invalidated it. The records also show that Landon has never raised a finger in protest. Nor has he ever advocated substitute legislation. His Commissioner of Labor and Industry, an Old Guard Republican by the name of G. E. Blakeley, when asked what labor legislation had been passed under Landon, could think only of the repeal of the state's $3 annual poll tax, a reduction in auto-license fees, and amendment of the workmen's-compensation act to let in all civil servants. Blakeley refused to boast about the state's workmen's-compensation act. He pointed out that Landon twice had urged the legislature to ratify the child-labor amendment, each time, with one eye on the farmers, hastening to explain that the amendment would not affect Kansas. Kansas, however, has not yet ratified it.

Kansas has a law requiring an eight-hour day and payment of prevailing wages on public works. It was invalidated by the state Supreme Court and reenacted in 1925, but according to Commissioner Blakeley, a Landon appointee, it remains inoperative. Kansas also has a Court of Industrial Relations, which was set up in 1920 under Governor Henry J. Allen, a former Hearst editor who belongs to the same "liberal" camp as Landon, had Landon as his secretary for a while when he was governor, and now is among Landon's most vigorous supporters. Allen is quoted here as boasting that Mussolini set up a similar court in Italy. The effect here was the same as the effect in Europe. Organized labor hated the court, which served principally as a strike-breaking agency. It had compulsory-arbitration powers and authority to use the militia. It called out the troops on several occasions, according to Blakeley, who says the court is now a dormant institution and that he has served these last few years in fear that its powers would again be invoked. It had in the beginning power to fix wages and hours in "essential" industries, but this power was taken from it a number of years ago by the United States Supreme Court (267 U.S. 552) in a case involving the packing industry.

The state's Department of Labor and Industry no longer attempts to regulate minimum wages for women and children in industry. It does attempt to do something about maximum hours, although, as Blakeley says, it has no power to enforce the orders it has issued. As last amended on February 15, 1936, those "orders" establish a nine-hour day and a forty-nine and one-half to fifty-two-hour week in laundries; a nine-hour day and six-day week of forty-nine and one-half to fifty-four hours in manufacturing establishments; an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week in restaurants, hotels, and the like; a "basic" six-day week and a "basic" eight-hour day for telephone-company employees, with the exception of night operators, who may be employed for twelve hours at a stretch including "rest and sleep time . . . which shall not be considered work time." Landon opposed all parts of the NRA save the oil code, which jacked up oil prices. He is an oil operator, and his wells, bankers here estimate, yield him an income of from $20,000 to $30,000 a year. He is not a large operator, and "independent" is a misnomer when applied to him. His wells are so located as to place him completely at the mercy of Standard Oil. The pipe-line on which he must depend to get his oil to market belongs to a Standard Oil subsidiary. When he led his fellow-"independents" in a publicity fight against Standard Oil in 1930-31, it was merely to get Standard Oil to reopen the pipe-line and begin buying oil again from Landon and his fellows. His oil properties are non-union.

Landon professes no opposition to labor organization. He believes his employees will not organize because they have been with him many years. That belief seems to me a very significant gauge of his probable attitude on the collective-bargaining issue. One of his close advisers, when asked what Landon would do about the issue of labor relations if elected President, confidently replied that he would have a survey made. He would have the surveyors pick out the thousand companies that have had "the best labor relations," the adviser said; then he would have their policies digested, the secrets of their success analyzed, and out of the results he would compile a labor policy.

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Perhaps a better gauge of Landon on labor relations—better than the fact that he permitted prison labor to be used on a public-works project and employed non-union labor in renovating the Executive Mansion here—is his conduct during the strike last year in the lead and zinc mines of southeastern Kansas. There seems to be a great deal of confusion in the East as to exactly what happened. Raymond Gram Swing, writing in *The Nation* last fall, left the impression, I am afraid, that the strike was largely a dispute between two unions and that the Governor's intervention did no measurable harm to the workers. Damon Runyon, writing in Mr. Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* under Mr. Hearst's orders, said organized labor did not hold the Governor's action against him. I have been at some pains to get the facts straight, and what is said here is drawn chiefly from official records. The picture justifies the resolution which the state Federation of Labor Forum passed in meeting at Coffeyville on June 11 of this year. It excoriated Landon for calling out the troops. The strike began on May 8, 1935, and covered not only the Kansas mines but also those in adjoining Missouri and Oklahoma. They are frightful places, badly inspected, with almost no ventilating equipment and a high incidence of lead poisoning and silicosis. The men employed in the mines had been unorganized until the New Deal came along. Their strike was principally for union recognition. There was only one union in the field at the time, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, an A. F. of L. affiliate. It had 3,000 dues-paying members. The company representatives refused even to meet with union officials, and the strike ensued. There was no violence in the Kansas area up to the time the troops were ordered to the scene by Landon. There had been violence in Oklahoma, and the Governor there called out the troops on May 27. The troops were never called out in Missouri.

Landon ordered a battalion of militia to the scene on the night of June 7, 1935. He had been visited that day by a delegation of company lawyers. The troops arrived on the strike scene the following morning. A few hours earlier —at 2 a.m. on June 8—two power-line towers and a telegraph pole had been dynamited. There are at least strong indications that the dynamiting was the work of *agents provocateurs* and was intended solely to justify the Governor's action. In a subsequent injunction proceeding a miner, a union member, testified that he had urged the use of dynamite, that he was in daily communication with a company lawyer, and that he lived with two detectives employed by the companies for strike purposes. The Kansas City *Star,* chief journalistic supporter of Landon's Presidential ambitions, hailed the sending of the troops in a staff correspondent's dispatch on June 8. One appeal to the Governor for troops came from the under-sheriff of the county and the county attorney. It is one of the two messages on which Landon's defense is based. It said that the mayor was pro-union and did not want the troops. (Landon later started ouster proceedings against the mayor, who resigned and then successfully stood for reelection.) The other message was signed by a man who was the president of a union local. It gave thanks for the Governor's military intervention. The signer is no longer a union official. He belongs to the company union that the operators set up under cover of the militia's guns.

Known locally as the "blue-card" union, the company organization is called the Tri-State Metal, Mine, and Smelter Workers' Union. Its president is a mine operator, F. W. Evans, who in 1928 served a stretch in jail in Venita, Oklahoma, as a bootlegger. One of its members is John Campbell, personnel manager and secretary to the operating vice-president of the Eagle Picher Mining and Smelting Company, dominant corporation in the area. Campbell testified to his own connections with the company union during the injunction proceedings. Miners were paid $10 a head for deserting the A. F. of L. and joining the "blue-card" union under a pledge to have nothing more to do with bona fide unionism. The companies instituted a closed shop—closed to all except "blue-card" carriers. The strike was broken with some 5,000 miners remaining on the outside. There will be trouble again soon, for the old union is coming back by leaps and bounds. The companies, however, will not be unprepared this time. The last troops were withdrawn June 27, 1935. There ensued at once a riot of undetermined origin which brought the troops immediately back to the scene with a declaration of martial law. Before they left a second time they had trained for Cherokee County and its mine owners a "civil army" which, the *Star's* correspondent flatly asserted, "has the approval of Governor Landon."

Landon's record on relief and social security is not much more encouraging than his record on the labor issue. Contending that the Kansas constitution forbids any other course, he has left the relief problem entirely to the counties and the federal government, appropriating only $775,000 in state funds which are to be spread over a two-and-one-half-year period and spent solely on administration. When the legislature enacted a miserly social-security program that fell far short of the federal Social Security Act's requirements and was rejected by Washington, he again took a stand upon the state constitution, maintaining that an amendment was necessary if the state government was to do its proper part for social security. He turned over to the Judiciary Committee of the Kansas Legislative Council the task of drafting the amendment. The committee, dominated by Republican lawyers opposed to the social-security program, drafted an amendment that ran to several hundred words, divided into three sections, the last of which plainly was designed to convey the idea that "he who votes for this amendment sells his body and soul to Washington." When it was reported to the full council for action, a Democratic member dissented and forced the substitution of a simple, brief amendment. It is this amendment which is to be submitted to the legislature in special session July 7. In the Judiciary Committee's report there is a dissent by a Democratic legislator, W. G. Fink, which seems to answer the constitutional fears and forebodings of the Landon administration on the relief and social-security questions. Fink directs their attention to a recent decision of the state Supreme Court (138 Kansas 913) wherein the court said: "Our constitution nowhere prohibits the state from making provision by legislative enactment for the care of the poor and needy."

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# Roosevelt Comes Up Swinging

BY HEYWOOD BROUN

*Philadelphia, June 28*

THE Democratic convention at Philadelphia succeeded in exciting just one person, but he is a rather notable exception. Franklin D. Roosevelt took on energy while delegates droned their weary way through a cut-and-dried ritual. Only two things were exciting. One was the platform and Roosevelt wrote that, and the other was the speech at Franklin Field and that was Roosevelt's also. Concerning both the speech and the platform it may be said that they deal in generalities, but a general statement may at times be far stronger than a specific one. Take, for instance, the plank on a possible constitutional amendment. This is so loosely drawn that it gives the President power to take any stand he pleases. I do not expect to see Franklin D. Roosevelt advocating the curbing of Supreme Court power by direct Congressional action. And yet if he did so he could hardly be accused of jumping off the platform.

Of course, the President is still a long way from accepting a socialist state, but it is new for a Democrat to mark the fact that the right to a job is just as vital as the right to a vote. Roosevelt did a great deal in his acceptance speech to riddle that vague sort of liberty and freedom of which Hoover talked. The issue is pretty sharply drawn.

It is by no means fantastic to hail the New Dealers as constituting the nucleus for a true Farmer-Labor Party. Obviously a large part of the crowd at Franklin Field was composed of labor groups. To them Roosevelt was a sufficient symbol whatever his deficiencies as a candidate. After the votes have been counted in November, it may be that liberals will owe a debt to Father Coughlin. The radio priest is a fascist pure and simple, but he has seduced the minds of a certain number who sincerely believe in a new order. Demagogue though he be, Father Coughlin, with Lemke his hand-picked candidate, has pushed Roosevelt decidedly to the left. It will be well for us all to try to see that this pressure is continued. Stranger things have happened than a Roosevelt candidacy in 1940 on a Farmer-Labor ticket.

Smith and Colby and Cohalan and Ely have all done their bit toward the creation of a people's front. Their help has consisted in the revelation of precisely how reactionary some of our leading Democrats can be.

It is a pity that the purging process is so terribly incomplete. Cotton Ed Smith is said to have gone on a three-hour bolt because a Negro asked the invocation. The Senator should not have been allowed to return. Senator George is said to have threatened to quit unless some slight modification were made in the constitutional plank. It is a pity that he was not taken at his word. Much might be made of the Democratic Party if it were only possible to get rid of the Democrats.

The crowd at Franklin Field, made up as it was of trade-union members, small shopkeepers, and white-collar workers, was the very stuff out of which any important third-party movement must be built in the East. This will not be a party very patient with Joe Robinson, or Pat Harrison, or any of that gang. Indeed, John Nance Garner's speech of acceptance of the Vice-Presidential nomination sounded a little as if he were holding up his wrists to show the bleeding marks left by the ropes which had been used to induce him to volunteer.

But though the old faces and the old names still appear in the familiar places, new men are moving in. Some of them were not delegates and did not even appear at the convention hall, but there need be no doubt that John L. Lewis had a good deal to do with the plank in regard to labor and also with the party declaration in regard to a constitutional amendment. Barring the walking paper of the disgruntled five, the Democratic convention wore upon its face the dull and apathetic expression of perfect harmony. You did not need to take more than one drink with a delegate to find that the contrary was true. The Democratic Party is split precisely in the middle.

If Roosevelt is to hold men like Norris and Lewis, he must give increasingly more progressive leadership. That will lose him Glass and Byrd and a score of others. Inevitably the President wants to hold the boat together until its nose touches the shore. When that happens there will be a scramble. It was said that the acceptance speech of the President's was much more fiery in its original form, but that he decided to tone it down. Personally, I found no lack of fire in the address, even though Franklin D. Roosevelt at times seemed disposed to speak in parables. Still "any stigma will do to beat a dogma," and if the President chooses to resurrect Dante and use his name and fame to club Hoover over the head, I see no possible objection.

Sooner or later I hope that Franklin D. Roosevelt will tackle Hearst by name, but he is under no obligation to cover all the ground in an acceptance speech. I may be woefully wrong, but I am firmly convinced that the plank on a constitutional amendment is fully sufficient to inject that issue into the campaign and that before Election Day there will be suggested an actual, specific amendment. By now the Democratic Party is amply committed to the effort to preserve the power of Congress in the matter of national legislation in regard to labor and to farming.

The convention in Philadelphia made poor newspaper copy and bad radio entertainment, but it did make political history. When the Farmer-Labor Party moves into action in 1940, I think it may be shown that the work of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John L. Lewis in connection with the Democratic conclave of 1936 did quite a lot to prepare the ground.

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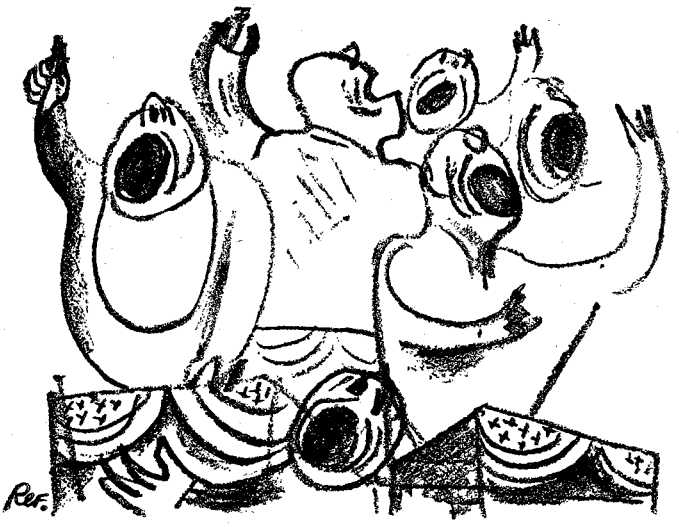
# *The Donkey Brays Again*

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD



*Political Orators*

*Philadelphia, June 28*

NOW I know why Henry Adams, before the Presidential campaign of 1888, wrote to Edwin L. Godkin of *The Nation:* "Next summer I am intending a trip to the Fiji Islands, where they eat missionaries and where they may eat me, but at least will not elect a President." I have just come from the worst political convention I have ever attended except perhaps that of 1924 in Madison Square Garden. The misery then was due to a long-drawn-out contest. This direfully wasted week in Philadelphia came solely with the compliments of James A. Farley and the hotel-keepers of that city who put up the money for the unholy show and bargained that it stay until Saturday night when it could have been wound up by Wednesday night, Roosevelt and all.

For the sake of the record be it written that this was the dreariest, dullest, stupidest, loudest, most inane, most vulgar, most blatant, most idiotic, most depressing, most childish, most needless, most incredible, and generally most disgusting of political gatherings, bar none. If I had a few more adjectives I should apply them too, and also borrow Henry Mencken's favorite word "obscene," if he had not worked it to death. The most experienced observers agreed that the convention touched the low-water mark in speaking and in what passed for brain work. True, Governor Lehman and Governor Horner spoke seriously and sincerely, and Governor Earle startled everybody with a speech that Norman Thomas might have made. A woman from Oregon came to the rescue of her sex and astounded us by the revelation that she possessed brain cells and knew how to use them, but the rest of the orators made us pray that there were only a few foreigners present to witness our national abasement. The whole show was just what Ernestine Evans called it—"a magnificent Elks picnic direct from Indiana." But not even Indiana Elks would have endured on their own heath fifty-two seconding speeches, without committing murder.

The only hope for the future is that the delegates who were thus butchered for a Philadelphia holiday will rise in their wrath to prevent another such orgy. Also the managers, even the massive brain of Jim Farley, may in time perceive that it is extremely bad politics to wear out your radio audience at the very beginning of your campaign and to outrage the radio companies by wasting so much of their costly time. Certainly it was bad for the Democrats to be exposing their asininity to the public gaze so much longer than the Republicans did theirs. Well, a number of journalists at Philadelphia thought that the radio will kill any further exhibitions like this of long-distance driveling and cheering, just as they believe that the loud speaker has ended genuine oratory by tying speakers to the microphone. There I don't agree. One does not have to prance all over the platform to speak effectively, and one can certainly stand before the "mike" and still talk with sincerity, earnestness, and in moving tones, and broadcast the product of gray matter if one has it.

The trouble was that this convention, like the Republican, was primarily concerned with sticking what might be called its head in the sand, trying to be just as remote from the real issues of the day as possible. The world is in dire distress. There are a dozen places where it may explode at any moment. Was there the slightest recognition of this in Philadelphia? Not any more than there was reference to the fact that the peerless party of Jefferson has not put some nine or more millions of Americans back at work. Everywhere the old order is in the utmost jeopardy—even though a thousand bands play "Happy Days Are Here Again" and the President declares fifty times that he has banished fear from America. The convention actually reduced some of the best and most facile journalists in America to silence, or to the level of Mark Sullivan's Munchausen meanderings. Imagine a Paul Anderson actually wiring a story to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* explaining why he could find so little to write about! At least a dozen others told me that it was impossible to find anything worth saying.

Incidents? A few. The men who dared to show those Al Smith banners and were alternately described as Republicans, professional pickpockets, and renegade Democrats paid by the enemy were beaten up before the audience with obvious brutality when the episode should have been devoutly welcomed as introducing the only bit of humor and challenge in that desert of utter vacuity. An English audience would have enjoyed the happenings as part of a most desirable heckling, a matter of course. Then, there was Governor Curley of Massachusetts, for

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whose defeat in the Senatorial contest next fall everybody ought to pray nightly, who added his touch to the picture by parading himself and some heelers three times around the auditorium under a characteristically modest banner reading "Look Out for Curley in 1940." It was entirely fitting that at the head of those embattled Massachusetts minute men should be Dr. Condon, the "Jafsie" of the Lindbergh kidnaping case. But the cohort which escorted Curley was well worthy of notice. It comprised an American Legion band and some thirty or forty legionnaires. For the first time, I am sure, rifles and bayonets, even though only three or four, were seen on the floor of a political convention. The soldiers without guns, as well as those with them, were as perfect a potential fascist cell as ever delighted the heart of a Hitler or a Mussolini. Their uniforms were stunning and immaculate, their set-up and bearing worthy of the Kaiser's bodyguard in 1914. They showed that the drilling they got in 1917-18 still sticks. Are they forerunners of what is to come?

In the convention as a whole there were just two high spots—the platform and the President's appearance; no, I should also include the very sincere and genuine reception given to Governor Lehman. There was an ulterior purpose there, of course; still there was real recognition of the Governor's fight to make New York a socially progressive state. As for the platform, it seems to me as clever and adroit a political document as we have had for a long time; it is a brilliant piece of political writing, avoiding every pitfall and giving the enemy nothing startling to pounce upon and twist to the Democracy's disadvantage. The Republican spellbinders who may seek to denounce it as a dangerous document will have to be brazen indeed. It is distinctly aggressive in reaffirming the basic principles of the New Deal, and it is free from apologies. Almost 90 per cent of it relates to human needs and only about 10 per cent to material things. The business man, far from being toadied to, is let off with only a few lines. It is the best platform for labor since the La Follette platform of 1924. Given this particular convention and the Democratic Party as it is, it is a surprisingly good document and one which must make a strong appeal to liberals. Now, please, you who read these lines don't think I am saying that this is a perfect platform and that therefore everyone should vote for Franklin Roosevelt. It does not go far enough for me at many points; especially in the matter of peace and war it gives me no assurance whatever that the President, if reelected, will not continue to militarize this country at breakneck speed and thereby open up an easy road for fascism. Had I been the author of that document I should have redemanded our entry into the World Court, reaffirmed my belief in free trade as the only hope for foreign-trade recovery, given much more space to Secretary Hull's remarkable record in foreign affairs, pledged immediate disarmament on land and sea, and touched on other issues on which the platform is lamentably silent. At least, however, the convention did not turn over to a rapidly fossilizing William E. Borah the sole right to draft the party's views on foreign affairs, as was the case in Cleveland.

If the credit for the platform is largely Senator Wagner's, he, then, is entitled to congratulations. It made me want to shout out loud when I found that the platform bracketed "kidnapers and bandits" and "malefactors of great wealth" together in the same paragraph, almost in the same sentence, with both under the heading: "For the Protection of the Family and the Home." I admire the skill with which the platform straddled on the Supreme Court issue in such a way as to leave the party and the President free to limit the court's powers while making it impossible for the Republicans to put the false issue of saving the Constitution to the front. I admire the cleverness of the sentence which reads: "We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor, and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclusively by forty-eight separate state legislatures, forty-eight separate state administrations, and forty-eight separate state courts." Linking acts of nature and unfair business practices together is certainly a smart Yankee trick. I rejoice that the platform commits Franklin Roosevelt, like Landon, to the extension of the merit system "to all non-policy-making positions in the federal service"—a marvelous revolution if it comes and one that has been consistently advocated by *The Nation* and its editors since its first issue in 1865. I rejoice, too, that the platform devotes a whole paragraph to the maintenance of civil liberties, much as I regret the absence of a pledge as to lynchings.

Such as it is, the platform is far better than that of the Republicans. It makes it possible for the Democrats to assert that they are for the masses, for the spirit of the New Deal, for the humanitarian policies of the President. As to these the platform speaks with wise humility when it declares: "We have built *foundations* for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment and old age; for the orphan, the crippled, and the blind." (Italics mine.) Platforms usually mean a little less than nothing, but here at least is a brave reaffirmation of the policies for inaugurating some of which the President has been most bitterly attacked. Surely no liberal should hesitate between the two parties if he feels that he must vote

*The Nominee*

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for either the Republicans or the Democrats. But if he feels that he wishes a really new order and desires to identify himself with something more far-reaching or more radical, he will vote for someone else. For I do not sympathize with William Allen White, who has just written that we have witnessed the birth of a new party at Philadelphia. Many delegates who were there will vote secretly for Landon. Some Democratic newspapermen were there who will not support the President or if they do will give him merely lip-service. But would not the Democratic Party promptly drift back into its traditional subservience to big business, to the reactionary South, and to the crooked city machines, should Mr. Roosevelt be defeated next fall? The chances are that it would. At any rate there is today nothing whatever to the party except the progressive, humanitarian program which Mr. Roosevelt has enunciated while in office, which he has carried out so badly, so inefficiently, and with so much Farleyism.

Finally, there is the President's speech. Never have I been more impressed in my long years of reporting than by that marvelous crowd and that whole scene on Franklin Field. It was overwhelming in its magnitude, its drama, its genuine enthusiasm for the President, in the significance of that cross-section of America, larger probably than the joint armies of Lee and Meade at Gettysburg. It was an occasion for a Gettysburg address if ever there was one—and for me the President muffed the opportunity. I was exactly in the mood to be thrilled and uplifted. The address left me perfectly cold. His voice could not respond to that marvelous greeting with deep emotion, with any real passion, or even a note of just indignation or striking sincerity. "A fine baccalaureate sermon or commencement address," said a brilliant woman journalist beside me. It was a courageous restatement of his war upon the "economic royalists" and his devotion to the rights of the plain people. But not a sentence or sentiment could produce as much applause as that which followed his tribute to Philadelphia; not one lifted the crowd out of their seats. He spoke too slowly, in too measured a manner. He was a preacher, not a great leader. There was not a word to send people away from that occasion determined to fight until the votes are cast. I think many of them are still ignorant about that "war" of which he spoke. Of course, he had to stand by his record or take the heart out of his most valuable followers. He does, however, deserve praise for calling upon all Americans to serve and sacrifice in order to preserve the institutions of democracy. But what would not Wendell Phillips have done with such a crowd? What would Lincoln not have impressed upon their souls?

Still it stands out as a wonderful occasion. The Nazis would have run it better; their police could have handled it a great deal more efficiently. There would have been a finer display, more symbolism, endless banners, everybody in uniform. Thank fortune, Franklin Field was what it was, and the crowd garbed as it was. Will it be so four years from now, or twelve?

[*Mr. Villard's regular page, Issues and Men, will appear next week as usual.*]

# *The French Revolution Has Begun*

BY LEON TROTSKY

*Norway, June 9*

NEVER did the radio seem so precious as during these days. From a distant village in Norway one can follow the pulse beats of the French revolution. Or rather, to put it more exactly, the reflection of these pulsations in the minds and voices of the Messrs. ministers, trade-union secretaries, and other mortally terrified leaders.

To say "French revolution" may seem exaggerated. Oh, no, this is no exaggeration. That is precisely how a revolution springs into being. Generally speaking, a revolution cannot come into being any other way. The French revolution has begun.

To be sure, Léon Jouhaux, tailing Léon Blum, keeps assuring the bourgeoisie that this is a purely economic movement within the rigid framework of the law. The strikers, indeed, are seizing factories for the duration of the strike, establishing control over the bosses and their staffs. But one may shut one's eyes to this deplorable "detail." On the whole, these are "craft strikes, not political strikes," the Messrs. leaders keep repeating. Yet under the influence of these "non-political" strikes the entire political situation in the country is being radically transformed. The government decides to act with haste it never thought of the night before. Indeed, according to Blum, true strength lay in patience! The capitalists are unexpectedly compliant. The entire counter-revolution bides its time behind the backs of Blum and Jouhaux. And this miracle is brought about entirely by "craft" strikes. What then would have happened had the strikes been political?

Oh, no, the leaders are not telling the truth. The craft union embraces the workers of a single, isolated trade, separating them from other trades. Trade unionism and reactionary syndicalism bend all efforts to keep the working-class movement within the framework of crafts. Upon this, in fact, rests the dictatorship of the trade-union bureaucracy over the working class—the worst of all dictatorships!—while the Jouhaux-Racamond clique in turn slavishly depends upon the bourgeois state. The essence of the present movement consists precisely in that it is breaking through trade-union, craft, and local bounds, raising beyond them the demands, hopes, and will of the whole proletariat. The movement takes on the character of an epidemic. The contagion spreads from factory to fac-

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tory, from craft to craft, from district to district. All the layers of the working class seem to be giving echoing answers to a roll call. The metal workers begin—they are the vanguard. But the strength of the movement lies in the fact that just behind the vanguard follow the heavy reserves of the class, including the most backward trades, the rearguard, completely forgotten on week days by Messrs. parliamentarians and trade-union leaders. Not for nothing did the *Peuple* openly confess that the emergence of certain particularly low-paid categories of the Paris population came to it as a complete "surprise." Yet precisely in the depths of these most oppressed strata inexhaustible springs of enthusiasm, selflessness, and courage lie hidden. The very fact of their awakening is the infallible mark of the tidal wave. It is necessary to reach these layers at all costs!

Tearing loose from the craft and local bounds, the strike movement has become terrible not only for bourgeois society but also for the workers' own parliamentary and trade-union representatives, who are primarily concerned with closing their eyes to reality. Historical legend has it that Louis XVI, upon asking, "What is this, a mutiny?" was answered by one of his courtiers, "No, sire, this is revolution." Now to the question of the bourgeoisie, "Is this mutiny?" its courtiers are replying, "No, these are only craft strikes." In giving comfort to the capitalists, Blum and Jouhaux are comforting themselves. But words will not help. To be sure, when these lines appear in the press, the first wave may have subsided. Outwardly life may seem to be returning to its old channels. But this changes nothing. These are not craft strikes that have taken place. These are not just strikes. This is a *strike.* This is the open rallying of the oppressed against the oppressors. This is the classic beginning of revolution.

The entire past experience of the working class, the history of its exploitation, miseries, struggles, and defeats, comes to life under the impact of events and rises up in the consciousness of every proletarian, even the most backward, and drives him into the common ranks. The entire class has been set in motion. This colossal mass cannot be stopped by words. The struggle must be consummated either in the greatest of victories or the most ghastly of defeats.

The *Temps* has called the strike the "practice maneuvers of the revolution." This is infinitely more serious than what is being said by Blum and Jouhaux. But even the definition given by the *Temps* is incorrect, for it is in a certain sense exaggerated. Maneuvers presuppose the existence of a command, a general staff, a plan. This does not exist in the strike. The leading centers of the working-class organizations, including those of the Communist Party, have been caught unawares. They are above all afraid lest the strike spoil all their blueprints. The radio relays a remarkable statement by Marcel Cachin: "We are all of us—we and the others—confronted by the fact of the strike." In other words, the strike is our common misfortune. With such words the terrible Senator persuades the capitalists to make concessions in order not to aggravate the situation. The parliamentarians and the trade-union secretaries, who are adapting themselves to the strike from the sidelines the sooner to extinguish it, stand in reality outside the strike, dangling in the air. They themselves do not know whether they will land feet or head first. The awakened mass is still without a revolutionary staff.

The ruling class has a real staff. This staff is not at all identical with the Blum government, although it uses the latter very skilfully. Capitalist reaction is now playing a big and risky game, but playing ably. At the present moment it is playing the game of "losers win." Let us today concede all the unpleasant demands which have met with the unanimous approval of Blum, Jouhaux, and Daladier. It is a far cry from recognition in principle to realization in action. There is the Parliament, there is the Senate, there is the Chancery—all these are instruments of obstruction. The masses will show impatience and will attempt to exert greater pressure. Daladier will divorce Blum. Thorez will try to shy to the left. Blum and Jouhaux will part company with the masses. Then we shall make up for all the present concessions, and with interest." This is the reasoning of the real staff of the counter-revolution, the famous "200 families" and their hired strategists. They are acting in accordance with a plan. It would be light-minded to say that their plan is groundless. No, with the assistance of Blum, Jouhaux, and Cachin the counter-revolution *can* attain its goal.

The profound organic and genuinely revolutionary character of the strike wave is best of all characterized by the fact that the mass movement, though improvised, has acquired such vast scope and has exercised so great a political influence. This is the guaranty of the endurance of the movement, its stubbornness, and the inevitability of a series of ever-rising waves. Without this, victory would be impossible. But all this is not enough for victory. As against the staff and the plan of the "200 families" there must be a staff and a plan of proletarian revolution. Neither as yet exists. But they can be created. All the prerequisites and all the elements for a new crystallization of the masses are at hand.

The sweep of the strike springs, we are told, from the "hopes" in the People's Front government. This is only one-quarter of the truth and even less than that. If matters were really limited to hopes alone, the workers would not have run the risk of struggle. The strike expresses above all the distrust or the half-trust of the workers, if not in the good intentions of the government, then in its ability to overcome obstacles and to come to grips with its problems. The proletarians want to "assist" the government, but in their own way, in the proletarian way. They still of course lack complete consciousness of their own strength. But it would be a gross distortion to portray matters as if the masses were guided only by pious "hopes" in Blum. It is not easy for them to muster their thoughts while yoked to the old leaders, who try to drive them as soon as possible back into the old rut of slavery and routine. Nevertheless, the French proletariat is not at the beginning of its history. The strike has everywhere and in every place pushed the most thoughtful and fearless workers to the fore. To them belongs the initiative. They

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are still acting cautiously, testing the ground under their feet. The vanguard detachments are trying not to rush ahead, in order not to isolate themselves. The echoing and reechoing answers of the hindmost ranks to their call gives them new courage. The roll call of the class has become a trial self-mobilization. The proletariat was itself in greatest need of this demonstration of its own strength. The practical successes won, however precarious they may be, cannot fail to raise the self-confidence of the masses to an extraordinary degree, particularly in the most backward and oppressed strata.

That leaders have come forward in the industries and in the factories is the foremost conquest of the first wave. The elements of local and regional staffs have been created. The masses know them. They know one another. Real revolutionists will seek contact with them. Thus the first self-mobilization of the masses has outlined and in part brought forward the first elements of revolutionary leadership. The strike has stirred, revitalized, and regenerated the whole colossal class organism. The old organizational shell has by no means dropped away. On the contrary, it still retains its hold quite stubbornly. But under it the new skin is already visible.

We do not speak now of the rhythm of events, which will undoubtedly be accelerated. In this sphere only suppositions and guesses are possible as yet. The second wave —its duration, its sweep, and its intensity—will doubtless permit a much more concrete prognosis than can be made now. But one thing is clear in advance: the second wave will not at all have the peaceful, almost good-natured, spring-like character that the first has had. It will be more mature, more stubborn and harsh, for it will arise from the disillusionment of the masses in the practical results of the policies of the People's Front and their own initial venture. In the government, as well as in the parliamentary majority, a process of stratification will take place. The counter-revolution will immediately become more self-assured and brazen. Further easy successes cannot be expected by the masses. Faced with the danger of losing what seemed to have been won, faced with the growing resistance of the enemy and the confusion and indecision of the official leadership, the masses will feel the burning need of a program, an organization, a plan, and a staff. For this we must prepare ourselves and the advanced workers. In the atmosphere of revolution the masses are swiftly reeducated, the *cadres* swiftly selected and tempered.

The revolutionary general staff cannot emerge from combinations at the top. The combat organization would not be identical with the party even if there were a mass revolutionary party in France, for the movement is incomparably broader than the party. The organization also cannot coincide with the trade unions, for the unions embrace only an insignificant section of the class and are headed by an arch-reactionary bureaucracy. The new organization must correspond to the nature of the movement itself. It must reflect the struggling masses. It must express their growing will. This is a question of the direct representa-

Drawing by Daumier

*Last Council of the Ex-Ministers*

Courtesy the Weyhe Gallery

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tion of the revolutionary class. Here it is not necessary to invent new forms. Historical precedents exist. The industries and factories will elect their deputies, who will meet to elaborate jointly plans of struggle and to provide the leadership. Nor is it necessary to invent the name for such an organization: it is the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The main section of the revolutionary workers is now following the Communist Party. In the past they have more than once cried: "Soviets everywhere!" The majority of them undoubtedly accepted this slogan honestly and seriously. There was a time when we regarded this slogan as untimely. But now the situation has radically changed. The mighty collision of classes is heading toward a climax. Whoever vacillates, whoever loses time, is a traitor. The choice lies between the greatest of all historical victories and the most ghastly of defeats. We must prepare for victory. "Soviets everywhere"? Agreed. But it is time to pass from words to action.

[*This article will form part of a book, "Whither France?" to be published shortly by Pioneer Publishers.*]

# *The Attack on Group Medicine*

BY JAMES RORTY

YES, the American Medical Association knew about the Borden boycott, which was the subject of the first article in this series. Yes, said Dr. Morris Fishbein when I saw him in Chicago last month, he had read the innuendoes, the incitements, the ultimata, the reports of progress published in state and county medical journals. He had watched the crusading medicos break the fragile milk bottles of the Borden Company over the head of the Milbank Memorial Fund; watched while they coerced into submission both the Borden Company and Albert G. Milbank, in his dual role as chairman of the board of the company and president of the fund; watched while they forced the dismissal of the fund's secretary, John A. Kingsbury; watched and said nothing, in public at least. "The boycott was never officially brought to the attention of the American Medical Association," said Dr. Fishbein.

What is official? Dr. Olin West, secretary and general manager of the A. M. A., admitted that a distressed representative of the Borden Company had called on him after the boycott had been in progress at least eight months; also that representatives of the crusading doctors had visited him. "I told them, no," said Dr. West. "I said, 'Don't you drag the A. M. A. into this; the A. M. A. isn't boycotting anybody.' And then I went to the telephone and made sure that certain physicians in important positions understood this clearly."

Excellent! But did the A. M. A. officially and publicly repudiate the boycott at any time while it was in progress or since? It did not. Did Dr.Fishbein repudiate the boycott in the *Journal*? He did not.

The plain fact is that in doing what they did the medical boycotters and slanderers were obeying the spirit, if not the letter, of policies which the American Medical Association has followed for many years—policies designed to defend and perpetuate a system of medical service and payment which is demonstrably obsolete and heart-breakingly destructive both of human health and of medical idealism. Again and again, both officially and unofficially, the A. M. A. has used brass knuckles on the advocates of change in the organization of medical care wherever they showed their heads. As a result of this policy some of the best heads both in and out of the medical profession are bloody—but not noticeably bowed. Expulsion from his medical society, the loss of hospital and university appointments, public ostracism and private slander—these are the penalties visited almost automatically upon nearly every doctor who attempts to rip off the nineteenth-century swaddling clothes in which the rugged medical individualists would like to bind the huge potential resources of modern medicine.

Yet more and more group-practice and group-payment schemes are launched, and if they are honestly and competently managed, the public supports them; the medical priesthood roars its imprecations in vain. For in the long run the progressives hold the winning cards. Their present trials are arduous enough, but the future is theirs. "American Medicine" by Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, the William H. Welch professor of the history of medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, contains the following excellent summary of the situation:

> American medicine is at the crossroads. Scientifically it has, by unremittingly purposeful effort, caught up with Europe, and is now leading in many lines of work. It is armed with the most superb equipment, with modern hospitals, laboratories, and schools, manned by a large, competent, and well-trained corps of physicians. It has behind it a history long enough to have borne fruit, short enough not to be oppressive, with the way to the future still open. Its task is a grateful one, for the majority of the population has faith in science and in the physician as its representative. The skeptical attitude toward the physician so common in Europe is seldom met with in America. And now American medicine is faced with the greatest task of all; it must put this artfully fashioned apparatus to work; now that the scientific problem is solved, it must find the social solution. . . .
>
> The attitude which the [American Medical] Association will take in regard to the reorganization of the medical care of the population will have enormous weight. It can accelerate changes or put on the brakes. It cannot stop them altogether, as they are determined not by the decisions of the physician but by the laws of social development. The responsibility is therefore very great, and it is to be hoped that the leading men will have the courage

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and the foresight to look squarely at the problem, not only from the narrower perspective of the physician's office, but from the wider viewpoint of the general welfare.

There is no present likelihood that the leading men of the A. M. A. will "have the courage and foresight to look squarely at the problem." In Chicago I spent nearly three hours with Dr. Olin West, secretary and general manager of the American Medical Association. He said, and I made him repeat it, while I took verbatim notes: "There is not one human being of my acquaintance, nor in my belief has there ever been one human being, who could not get needed medical care if he had sense enough to ask for it." Dr. West spoke with every evidence of sincerity and conviction. Yet to say that he was speaking sheer nonsense is putting it mildly. I could only conclude that the "leading men" not only do not face the problems; they deny their existence. What Dr. West said is only a more extreme version of the statement of Dr. Frederic E. Sondern, past president of the New York State Medical Society, which appears in the 1935-36 Debate Handbook on socialized medicine: "Under the prevailing system of practice it can be said that there is little lack of medical care if the person needing it, or his family, will seek it."

There is plenty of current evidence that the ruling hierarchies of the A. M. A., including most of its state and county units, intend to obstruct and hamstring all attempts to set up voluntary group-practice and group-payment schemes of medical care, regardless of the demonstrated quality and economy of the service offered by such organizations. True, the Judicial Council of the A. M. A. in February of this year ordered the reinstatement of Dr. Donald E. Ross and Dr. H. Clifford Loos to membership in the Los Angeles Medical Society on the ground that they had been given no proper opportunity to answer the charges that the Ross-Loos clinic had violated the "principles of ethics" of the American Medical Association. But to balance this the council, in sustaining the expulsion from the Dallas County Medical Society of the physicians and surgeons associated with the Dallas Medical and Surgical Clinic, enunciated a new principle, now embodied in two clauses, 6 and 7, which have recently been added to the office code of ethics. Any group-practice organization is now ruled "unethical"

6. When the conditions of employment make it impossible to render adequate service to the patients.

7. When the contract, because of any of its provisions or practical results, is contrary to sound public policy.

In practice this means that if the majority of the members of any county medical society decide that a clinic or group-practice organization is "against sound public policy" they can expel from their society the doctors associated with the clinic, and the Judicial Council of the A. M. A. will sustain them. What the A. M. A. is saying in effect is this: A group clinic may not solicit patients, directly or indirectly; may not underbid individual physicians to secure a contract; may not charge fees which in the judgment of the competing individual members of the county medical society are inadequate to secure good medical service; may not interfere with reasonable competition in a community; may not prevent free choice of a physician; may not set up conditions of employment which *in our judgment* make it impossible to render adequate service to patients. Finally, no group-practice organization may operate under a contract which because of any of its provisions or practical results is *in our judgment* contrary to sound public policy.

This is the heart of the A. M. A.'s 1936 policy with respect to the organization and distribution of medical care. Not even the United States Supreme Court has dared to assert such impudent claims to power over matters affecting the life and death of the American people. True, the A. M. A. has no legal authority. It cannot prevent a physician from practicing nor can it stop a group clinic from operating. But it can and does implement its claim to authority by public excommunication and private ostracism and persecution. It has no police powers, but it can and does summon its medical squads and battalions to a holy war in defense of their own status, their own emoluments. It does this whenever the pressure of public need fires a group of progressive doctors with the determination to cast off the shackles of the A. M. A.'s pocket-motivated "ethics" and attempt to give people decent medical care at a price they can afford to pay. There have been scores of such holy wars and they are all pretty much alike. Two recent examples will suffice to illustrate the customary strategy and tactics.

In December, 1932, a month before the United Medical Service opened its doors a few blocks south of the medical profession's Vatican on South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Dr. Ernest B. Zeisler had a talk with his old friend, Dr. Morris Fishbein. Dr. Zeisler is regarded as one of the ablest young physicians in the Middle West. He told Dr. Fishbein that he intended to associate himself with the new enterprise as chief of the medical staff. Dr. Fishbein, as Dr. Zeisler described the interview, was shocked. He admitted privately to Dr. Zeisler that group practice was not a step toward state medicine (within three weeks he stated in an editorial that it *was* a step toward state medicine), but he said it was dishonest—as dishonest as breaking a safe. Dr. Zeisler would gain nothing; he would lose his good name, his professional repute, and, finally, his friendship with Dr. Fishbein.

Three weeks later Dr. Fishbein in a *Journal* editorial said in effect that the United Medical Service staff was without ability, although, as it happened, one of its members, Dr. M. J. Steinberg, had previously treated Dr. Fishbein himself. Within three months after the clinic was started Dr. Zeisler and his associate, Dr. Charles R. Wiley, who was then a member of the council of the Chicago Medical Society, were expelled from the society along with their entire staff. The loss of hospital and university appointments followed in due course. Since all the participating physicians had been deprived of their hospital privileges, it was only after a considerable struggle, which included a counter-threat of legal action against the local medical politicians, that the United Medical Service succeeded in making arrangements to hospitalize its patients at the Jefferson Park Hospital.

The clinic grew and prospered, but internal dissensions

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developed. Charges that the president, Dr. Joseph C. Berkowitz, was overpaying himself and his family and underpaying his staff resulted in the resignation, in May, 1935, of five directors and thirty-eight members of the medical corps of forty-one. The secedent doctors, led by Dr. Zeisler and Dr. Wiley, organized the Civic Medical Center on a partnership basis. Both clinics have continued in operation, although both of them have suffered from the publicity attending the split, and both have been more or less continuously under fire from "organized medicine." At the moment Dr. Fishbein faces a $300,000 libel suit brought jointly by the twenty-eight doctors of the Civic Medical Center, the chief complaint being a published editorial reference by Dr. Fishbein to "the Civic Medical Center, another commercial medical racket."

Similar slanders are directed against practically all group-practice and group-payment enterprises by physicians who fear that the success of such enterprises will deplete their individual clienteles. The public, aware of the economic pain animating such outcries, has learned increasingly to disregard them. This is particularly true in Chicago, whose citizens witnessed the expulsion from the A. M. A. in 1929 of Dr. Louis E. Schmidt, one of the most eminent American urologists, because of his interest in the Public Health Institute and the Illinois Social Hygiene League, and more recently applauded when Howard Vincent O'Brien, the liberal columnist of the Chicago *Daily News,* had himself examined by the clinicians now at the Civic Medical Center and reported that in his opinion the service was excellent. I was not surprised, therefore, when I visited the Civic Medical Center and found it exceedingly busy. Ironically enough, Dr. Zeisler was able to prove to my satisfaction that the relatively superior thoroughness of group-practice diagnosis frequently shows up individual practitioners, perhaps not as "racketeers," but certainly as wretchedly careless and stupid people. "Medical ethics" operates rather effectively to prevent such physicians from being penalized, whereas the same shibboleth is used to sabotage the development of the type of group practice, dictated by the very nature and requirements of modern medical knowledge, which would serve to check and minimize such carelessness.

Like the wars staged by imperialist nations, the holy wars conducted by the medical politicians are never really ended. They flare up and die down, but the embers continue to glow. They are still warm in Chicago; they are brick red today in the City of Brotherly Love, which more than any other American city is entitled to be called the fountain-head of American medicine.

The first hospital to serve exclusively for the care and treatment of the sick was started in Philadelphia; the first medical school was started in Philadelphia in 1847. The Quaker City has produced great medical pioneers, inherits a great tradition. Well, something has soured it. Last spring the Philadelphia Medical Society presented the Dr. I. P. Strittmayer Award for the year 1935 to Dr. Seth A. Brumm. For what? I quote from the presentation speech of Dr. John M. Fisher:

> True to your inborn potentials you for many years have been wielding an ax with a Brumm fighting edge, chopping the dry rot of ignorance and misleading propaganda from the Milbank Foundation and other sinister organizations aiming to standardize and control the unstandardizable and uncontrollable science and art of medicine.

Undoubtedly one of the "other sinister organizations" referred to by Dr. Fisher was the Twentieth Century Fund. So when the representatives of the fund came to Philadelphia a few months ago they knew what they were getting into. Their intent was innocent enough, however: nothing more nefarious than helping Philadelphia business men and trade-union leaders to set up group-payment systems that would enable Philadelphia workers to pay for and obtain adequate medical care and, incidentally, permit Philadelphia physicians to make a little better living.

They found the public more than willing. In a short time about a hundred executives representing business concerns employing more than 200,000 workers had signified their interest. Unfortunately, officials of the Philadelphia Medical Society also became interested. At their request the representatives of the fund put their cards on the table: theirs was a mild, conciliatory program embodying considerably less in the way of proposed change than the majority recommendations of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. No very strenuous objections were registered by the medical conferees at this meeting, but within a few weeks the Medical Society launched a tangential and utterly unexpected attack.

It happened that there was already in operation in Philadelphia a successful group clinic—the Saul Medical Service. Out of the blue Dr. Dudley W. Saul received a request from the state insurance commissioner to show cause why his service should not be prosecuted for violation of the insurance laws. On investigation it appeared that the Medical Society had filed a complaint with the Better Business Bureau, which in turn had referred the matter to the insurance commissioner. There followed a period of uproar and confusion in the courts and in the newspapers. Several weeks later, and only after threatening suit for libel, Dr. Saul, who had weathered earlier storms of this sort, got a retraction and apology from Dr. F. A. Faught, president of the Philadelphia Medical Society. Still later the fund's representatives got a statement from the insurance commissioner to the effect that in his opinion the fund's plan was not under the control of his department.

Similar conflicts are raging openly or smoldering under the surface all over America. The public, as proved by the success of the three-cents-a-day plan for hospital care of the Associated Hospital Service of New York, understands the plain good sense of applying the insurance principle to the payment of medical costs. Lay opinion, as Sigerist points out, still has a high regard for the individual doctor. But it may confidently be predicted that the public will not be too proud to fight if our medical politicians continue to claim sole authority and then use this authority for purposes of obstruction and sabotage; to assert sole title to leadership and then offer a Sabine march —one step forward and two steps backward—as their official version of progress in the year 1936.

[*This is the second of a series of four articles by Mr. Rorty on medical politics.*]

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## DO COLONIES REALLY PAY?

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ONE of the great paradoxes of our time may be found in the fact that Japan, Italy, and Germany have launched their drives for empire at the moment that the major powers appear to be in the process of loosening their colonial bonds. Until fairly recently it was almost universally assumed that colonies were good investments—for the long pull if not for immediate profit. Today a number of authorities, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, are contending that an empire is more of a liability than an asset. The supporters of the Philippine Independence Act and the proposed plebiscite for Puerto Rico have clearly been influenced by this point of view. In the Near East one finds France following the example of England in Iraq by granting independence to Syria. One even hears intelligent Englishmen whisper of the day when it will be desirable for Britain to relinquish its responsibility in India.

Why do nations desire colonies? The average imperialist prides himself on his hard-boiled appraisal of the situation. He will deny that his expansionist views are the outgrowth of sentiment—such as desire for national prestige—and will insist that the possession of colonies offers the mother country four concrete advantages: (1) an outlet for surplus manufactured products; (2) a guaranteed source of raw materials; (3) a means of relieving population pressure; and (4) an opportunity for investment under the protection of the investor's flag. Now all of these are tangible items capable of quantitative measurement. But they are counterbalanced by a number of frequently overlooked entries on the debit side of the ledger. Few if any colonies are entirely self-supporting in the sense that the revenues obtained from the native population cover all expenses of administration and defense. The possession of colonies entails the setting up of elaborate governmental machinery both in the home country and in the dependency; their protection requires the most expensive of all luxuries—a modern navy and air force; and their exploitation requires considerable capital for the construction of railroads, highways, and harbors. If we add the cost of wars which result from imperialist rivalries, our debit total will far exceed any reasonable estimate of profit.

With a view to exploding the traditional imperialist fallacies, Grover Clark has sought to compile a balance sheet* showing the profits and losses resulting from the colonial adventures of the leading powers. His findings are startling if not wholly convincing. He discovers, for example, that not one of the great colony-holding countries carries on as much as one-fourth of its trade with its dependencies, and that none obtains as much as a fifth of its raw materials and foodstuffs from empire sources. Moreover, the colonies usually carry on a substantial trade with other nations in addition to that with the mother country, indicating that political control is not a necessary prerequisite to obtaining markets and raw materials.

When it comes to striking a balance between credits and debits, Italy, ironically enough, is shown to have the most unsatisfactory record. In twenty years, from 1913 to 1932, Italy's expenditures exceeded its total colonial trade over a forty-year period by more than a billion lire. Germany's record is nearly as bad. In the last twenty years in which it possessed colonies it also spent, on the average, an amount well above its gross trade with them. Japan has fared better, but its direct outlay for its colonies, excluding military expenses, equals 18.4 per cent of its trade with them—far more than any conceivable profit on the trade. The British figures are more difficult to obtain, but even here Mr. Clark is confident that the costs outweigh the trade benefits.

As an outlet for surplus population the colonies show up even more unfavorably. In 1913, after twenty years of colonization, there were less than 20,000 Germans in all the German possessions—fewer, as Mr. Clark points out, than the number of Germans living in the Bronx in 1930, though this borough had the smallest German population of any of the four principal boroughs of New York City. Between 1865 and 1924 more Hollanders entered the Netherlands from the Dutch colonies than emigrated to them. Sweden, with no colonies and a population one-tenth that of Japan, has sent abroad in the past fifty years half again as many permanent emigrants as Japan. The foreign-born population of New York City in 1930 was seven times as large as the number of European emigrants that have settled in Africa in the past century.

On the basis of an impressive amount of evidence of this nature Mr. Clark concludes that the great powers have erred in assuming that colonies offer either an immediate or a potential source of wealth. He sees the colonial system merely as a cause of international irritation and a constant threat to peace. As a remedy he suggests that each of the powers establish complete equality of economic opportunity within its colonies, and that it confer upon the League power to enforce this policy, as in the mandate system.

If it were true that colonies are merely economic parasites, draining the strength of the great empires and threatening to cause their destruction, his proposal might be worthy of close scrutiny. Unfortunately, however, the eco-

*"The Balance Sheet of Imperialism." By Grover Clark. Columbia University Press. $2.75.
"A Place in the Sun." By Grover Clark. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

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nomic case against imperialism is not as overwhelming as his analysis would suggest. One has the feeling that Mr. Clark has been extremely diligent in searching for the debit items on the balance sheet, but that he has not exhibited equal zeal in seeking credit entries. He has shown that in most instances the profits on trade could not have equaled the cost of maintaining an empire, and that colonies do not solve the population problem. He has, however, whether deliberately or not, neglected two of the primary advantages of colony-possession—the creation of opportunities for investment and the disposal of domestic surpluses. It is very well to say that investment in colonial areas is open to capitalists regardless of citizenship, but history has shown that the pound, franc, and dollar have tended to follow their respective flags. In the case of India and the British dominions the return on investments has undoubtedly been of greater importance than the profits on trade. Still more important is the effect of capital exports on the national economy. Our economic system demands an outlet for both capital and goods if it is to function at anything like capacity, and a country might easily find that it paid to subsidize a colony which would take surpluses off its hands. It might also be pointed out that while African and Asiatic colonies do not provide opportunities for large-scale immigration they offer highly lucrative jobs for a handful of administrators, business men, and engineers who tend to be drawn from the ruling classes of the mother country.

This raises a point which is all too frequently overlooked. In his chapter describing the origin of the colonial system, Mr. Clark shows very clearly that the gains and losses of imperialism did not involve the same persons. Governments, that is, the taxpayers, took over the costs of administration, but the profits went into private pockets. Needless to say, this remains the situation today. Imperialism might be defined as a device for persuading the taxpayers of a country to assume some of the risks and costs of private business beyond national boundaries. Thus for the average citizen a colony may be a liability, but for the few it is almost invariably profitable. By the time that he reaches his conclusions Mr. Clark appears to have forgotten this fundamental observation. He speaks of the voluntary recession of the perquisites of imperialism as if governments were controlled by the many rather than the few. If the masses of the people were strong enough to determine policy, we might hope for a liquidation of imperialism on the basis of reason. But for the moment there is little likelihood of a voluntary surrender of power except under great pressure, as in Syria, or where colonial imports compete directly with domestic products, as is the case with the Philippines and Puerto Rico. The underlying trend is very clearly in the opposite direction. Because of contracting home markets, economic nationalism is gaining favor and is rapidly closing the gates of trade opportunity. As long as this trend continues, political control over colonial areas is bound to take on increasing importance. Instead of being representative of an outworn dogma, the aggressive colonial policies of Japan and Italy may foreshadow a period of new and more desperate imperial rivalries.

# BOOKS

## War Between the States

*GONE WITH THE WIND.* By Margaret Mitchell. The Macmillan Company. $3.

MISS MITCHELL'S heroine, Scarlett O'Hara, is introduced as a Southern belle in her teens, distinguishable from her fictional prototypes only by the author's unadorned treatment of her petty maneuverings for power over admirers. The daughter of a self-made Irishman and a gentlewoman from Savannah, Scarlett has the habit of wealth but lacks the aristocratic feeling which is nourished by tradition. Infatuated with Ashley Wilkes, whose interest in art makes him exotic in a society of Georgia planters, she confesses her love with a reckless forthrightness which does her credit, but he humiliates her by his preference for his idealistic little cousin, Melanie. Scarlett marries in pique a youth shortly killed in action defending the Confederacy, and is left with an unwanted child.

Neither the human incidents depicted nor the author's broad account of public events gripped this reader until the widowed heroine, visiting Atlanta, found herself immured in a beleaguered city and responsible for her rival, the fragile Melanie, who, with the men at the front and medical aid unattainable, bears Ashley's son. Then Scarlett, exploiting her beauty, secures the cooperation of Rhett Butler, a scamp possessed of a forceful personality, paradoxical wit, and a faculty for remaining *persona grata* with both Yankees and Confederates, and he arranges her flight with Melanie and the new-born infant through doomed territory to Tara, the home of the O'Hara family. The O'Haras are among the many victims of the havoc left by Sherman's march to the sea; and it is when Scarlett is subsequently tested by hard circumstance that she emerges in her true character—a transformation for which, however, earlier portions of the book have not adequately prepared us. None the less, the sea change she suffers as a fictional creation is altogether advantageous, and as a petty Nietzschean ruthlessly concerned with the reestablishment of the family and her own security she is thoroughly convincing. Reconstruction days carry her through a second marriage of convenience to a third marriage, this time to Butler; and her relations with him, with Melanie, and the regretted Ashley are the crux of her emotional life.

Margaret Mitchell gives us our Civil War through Southern eyes exclusively, and no tolerant philosophy illumines the crimes of the invaders; she writes with the bias of passionate regionalism, but the verifiable happenings described eloquently justify prejudice. Unfortunately her temperamental limitations as a critic both of mass movements and personal behavior are such that she often gives a shallow effect. She is vigorous enough to imbue her work with dramatic buoyancy, but unequal to the subtler demand she makes on herself with the tragedy fitly conceived as the climax of her story. The desperate earthiness of the second Scarlett is memorable enough, and the portrait of Rhett, half a scoundrel, is likewise to Miss Mitchell's credit: the whole-heartedness with which her imagination yields itself to the interpretation of these two favorites makes the reader's absorption in a narrative sprinkled with clichés and verbal ineptitudes a contagious growth. But the author seems handicapped by the undigested influence of that literature of pessimism which, though it is responsible for everlasting mas-

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terpieces and is a tonic antidote for easy romanticism, is too often misinterpreted among Anglo-Saxons as negativism.

Neither writers like Miss Mitchell who, when under an obligation to move their audiences profoundly, fall back on the vocabulary of platitude, nor those more modish novelists who for the individualized hero substitute masses still as vague an entity as Peer Gynt's Great Boyg can grapple with that last problem of a rounded art: how to make tenderness as authentic in realism as brutality; how to make benevolence the specific investiture of a man and not of a fool; how courage may be shown to glow with a warmth as physical, if not as impartially animal, as is now generated for literature by passions more menacing. Contrast Miss Mitchell's stammering articulation of high virtue with her zestful translation of primitive impulse: Ashley Wilkes remains the wasted genius of filmdom rather than of fine literature; and Melanie, tenuous in ways not attributable to her poor health, represents a concession to rare qualities discredited for this author's art by her inability to give them true embodiment. If Miss Mitchell is able, later, to master the wide significances implicit in her own material, and to convey her idealism as something more than a soporific, she may yet demonstrate the mature humanity absent in the works of so many among us who are "disillusioned" in that adolescent fashion which follows a first boast of understanding and belief.

EVELYN SCOTT

# "Art for My Sake"

*AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY: BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.* Julian Messner. $3.

*D. H. LAWRENCE: A PERSONAL RECORD.* By E. T. With an Introduction by J. Middleton Murry. Knight Publications. $2.

WHEN D. H. Lawrence wrote, "I always say my motto is 'Art for my sake,' " he set down what seemed to be the perfect doctrine for those "divine amateurs" of his own generation. In his earlier work John Middleton Murry practiced this doctrine so assiduously that he became the favored scapegoat of the classicists, for in reading him they had but to point to warn, and the disastrous results were all too plain. It may be said that Mr. Murry's autobiography is a continuation of his books on God and Jesus, Keats and Shakespeare, his "Son of Woman" and his "Memories of D. H. Lawrence"; the troubled voice is heard throughout them all; it is the same man speaking. If his early criticism is the confession of the soul at large among the masterpieces (which I suspect it is), certainly his present book is a confession of the soul at large among the artists. To Mr. Murry, Gaudier-Brzeska, D. H. Lawrence, and his own wife, Katherine Mansfield, were difficult people; and the fact that he too was difficult, as well as they, may be counted as one of his primary motives for writing his autobiography. Mr. Murry, a poor boy, climbing by scholarships to Christ's Hospital and Oxford, visibly increased his sense of social insecurity on the way upward, until at last he landed in a dark space "between two worlds." It is a pitiable history of maladjustment that Mr. Murry recites to us again; and again it is evident that it was written to salvage the remains of a pale shadow that Mr. Murry calls his soul.

Mr. Murry's English reviewers have generously compared his latest book with the confessions of Rousseau, forgetting as they did so the reasons why the first memorable autobiography of modern times is as much alive today as in the hour in which it was composed. Where Rousseau is concrete, if not painfully explicit, Mr. Murry is vague and more inclined to justify an obscure motive than to let us see for ourselves whatever he has done. Where Rousseau sustains a narrative and is often vivid and concise, Mr. Murry is fragmentary, covering what appears to be a lapse of memory with a surplus of words: and always between the reader and the event that Mr. Murry is trying to recall there floats the tenuous substance which is Mr. Murry's principal concern—his soul. On the mere evidence of this "Autobiography" I believe that no psychiatrist, however expert, however wary, could determine how much of what is written here is literally true or false, how much is wish-fulfilment or "true" confession. I raise this doubt because a few of the more specific passages in this testimony are subtle contradictions of equally specific passages in H. S. Ede's "Savage Messiah" and D. H. Lawrence's letters. Since Mr. Murry's narrative is impeded by hazy reference interlarded with Bergsonian commentary on soul and instinct, life and love and letters, my greatest pity for the man's misfortunes is related to his inability to tell a convincing story.

Despite the vagaries which attended the writing of Mr. Murry's autobiography, the book has its unique, if somewhat perverse, fascination as a record of literary life in war-time London. The moral sickness of its characters, as it reflects the ambitions of middle-class professional life, seems to correspond with the very corruption that I. A. Richards describes when he speaks of "the destructive element." Mr. Murry's early admiration of Frank Harris is illustrative of that corruption; the pitiful quarrel with Gaudier-Brzeska, in which Mr. Murry becomes righteous in his denial that the artist should be paid for his drawings, is another example of the same kind. Katherine Mansfield's isolation, taking its refuge behind the barriers of self-pity and petty-bourgeois snobbery, seems even further evidence that a false set of ethical values closely circumscribed and almost smothered the fruition of a minor talent. After all this is shown, one does not wonder that D. H. Lawrence immersed himself within and then grew restless of such company, for the moral sickness of the Murry-Lawrence circle was of the world that was "tainted with myself."

As not a few of Lawrence's biographers testify, his life was a series of escapes from places and emotional entanglements, from relatives, friends, lovers, and even casual literary associates. In the wake of broken relationships many tributes to his memory have been written, and not the least of these is E. T.'s personal record of his early manhood. E. T. was the Miriam of "Sons and Lovers," the person to whom he insisted, "It will fall to you to write my epitaph." And here it is, a slender book, recalling the atmosphere of "The Wild Common" and other poems of that period as well as of "The White Peacock." Curiously enough, the book almost transcends its biographical importance, for its actual value lies in a careful study of adolescent love. Its narrative discloses how Lawrence and E. T. were lovers and then slowly outgrew each other—and the simple presentation of the story possesses very nearly every merit that John Middleton Murry's elaborate confession lacks. E. T. has the ability to select those significant episodes that reveal her hero's character, an ability by which we are made willing to accept her Lawrence in preference to Mr. Murry's. In her recollection of a "literary" dinner at the home of Violet Hunt one plainly sees how Lawrence outgrew his provincial origins. His distrust of Hueffer (Ford Madox Ford) was characteristic of that growth; whereas E. T., growing more firmly rooted in Nottinghamshire soil, was to remain in awe of literary

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celebrity. Even as she writes of him, Hueffer, the literary tipster of war-time London, is seen as a godlike figure at a Campden Hill Road dinner table.

Mr. Murry's introduction to E. T.'s book would serve, I think, as an appropriate footnote to his autobiography. His first statement is: "Since I became a peripatetic lecturer in America, I have been shocked by the relative lack of interest in D. H. Lawrence." Mr. Murry does not tell us that his audience is chiefly composed of people who are interested only in the very latest "literary" names, the people who wish to talk smartly at bridge tables and cocktail bars. And those who know Lawrence's work only too well would be embarrassed to ask questions of a man who wrote "Son of Woman." He goes on to say: "I do not understand this strange indifference to Lawrence. Today he is hardly so much as mentioned by American critics." Mr. Murry's singular attacks of blindness are of no recent date, for Gaudier-Brzeska once said of him and Katherine Mansfield that "they had never noticed the statue of Charles I in Trafalgar Square and they were people who considered themselves to be artists." Perhaps in his case it is the merest charity to remember that "Art for my sake" is a jealous art.

HORACE GREGORY

## The Cooperative Program

*COOPERATIVE DEMOCRACY.* By James Peter Warbasse. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

*CONSUMER COOPERATION IN AMERICA, DEMOCRACY'S WAY OUT.* By Bertram B. Fowler. The Vanguard Press. $2.

THE rise of consumer cooperatives in the United States is one of the most interesting results of the depression. Two million Americans are now members of cooperatives. In the new and rewritten edition of his book, the bible and guide of cooperatives throughout the world, Dr. Warbasse projects the thesis that the cooperative movement, when it achieves its full power, will take over a majority of the functions of the state, and by a two-house legislature—the Cooperative Assembly, and the Industrial Assembly representing labor—govern the country.

Unquestionably the political significance of the cooperative program is not comprehended by many members of consumer societies. For the long-time result of cooperation, which may or may not fulfil the specifications of Dr. Warbasse, is obscured by the immediate practical gains. An efficient cooperative assures its members a real money saving. By buying as a group instead of as individuals they secure a more advantageous price and goods of better quality. Both the money saving and the elimination of shoddy have made a tremendous appeal, especially to white-collar workers whose incomes have been reduced by the depression and whose eyes have been opened by the muckrakers who have shown how the hundred million guinea pigs are fooled.

In the United States the cooperative movement was slow in gaining real support. Many years ago Sweden started along the road Marquis Childs has termed "the middle way"; Englishmen, building on the solid foundation laid by the Rochdale pioneers, the founders of the modern cooperative movement, established the British Cooperative Wholesale, one of the biggest businesses in the empire; Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan, all had strong consumer cooperatives. But it has only been since the depression set in that Americans have been converted to cooperation. Bertram B. Fowler has written a dra-


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matic history of what has already been accomplished by the revolution of the meek. His is essentially a reporter's job. In a vivid travelogue he describes the Middle Western oil cooperatives, which are now the strongest competitors of the large oil interests; the cooperative organized by the Negroes of Gary, Illinois, with an initial capital of $24, which last year did a business of $35,000; and the cooperative established by members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Fowler is too much occupied with recounting the achievements of American consumer cooperatives to theorize, except by the way. He is also too enthusiastic to be critical, and as a result his book contains no adequate discussion of the obstacles which must be surmounted if the movement is to achieve the success he envisions for it. Still he has written an excellent and readable history which will undoubtedly inspire many to follow his directions for forming a consumer "co-op."

Dr. Warbasse writes more soberly, but his analysis and predictions also lack critical objectivity. As president of the Cooperative League of the United States since its inception in 1916, he has seen the ruinous results of greed, stupidity, and human frailty. He is aware of the possible disasters which may overtake the movement, but he too writes with the zeal and natural bias of the missionary. Like all other economic ideologies, consumer cooperation is hard to preach impartially and dispassionately. Dr. Warbasse sees in the cooperative movement a means of defeating monopoly and of achieving world-wide peace and the brotherhood of man. To him consumer cooperation means cooperation on every front and among all people. "Through cooperation," writes Dr. Warbasse, "could be advanced a true classless society."

There is disagreement both in this country and in Europe on Dr. Warbasse's thesis that the movement must stay out of politics. However, he continues to be fearful of entangling alliances and urges the advantages of indirect control of legislators by the strength of a cooperative-minded electorate. When a sufficiently large proportion of the population have been converted to cooperation, then the cooperatives should take over the function of government.

One of the immediate problems is to secure the cooperation of labor. Dr. Warbasse makes a strong bid for this support by showing that the two movements have common interests. But it will take more than logic to bring labor into the cooperative fold. So far no really intensive efforts have been made either to organize cooperatives in labor unions or to unionize employees of cooperatives.

He would be a foolhardy prophet who would attempt to predict the future of the American cooperative movement. Certainly, its program has never been expounded more persuasively than by Dr. Warbasse and Mr. Fowler. Together these two books form an excellent record of what has been accomplished and of what may lie ahead.

RUTH BRINDZE

# Eleven Words for Seven

*FLOWERS OF EVIL.* From the French of Charles Baudelaire. By George Dillon and Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

THE faults of these translations might have been fewer and less serious had Miss Millay and Mr. Dillon used pentameter instead of the hexameter of the French. Not that they do not often succeed in writing good hexameters: Miss Millay particularly avoids placing the caesura so that it breaks the line into two trimeters—or a tetrameter with two feet dangling at the end. In this difficulty both translators have been ingenious; but space does not allow citations of a special competence, the brilliance of which seems to me to be irrelevant to the task of translating Baudelaire. Miss Millay says in her preface that part of her task was to make the English sound like French verse. One cannot argue with this, but one may suppose that if the translation is still French it is not English, that it is only half-translated.

French words are longer than English words; so the trouble with Baudelaire in English hexameters is that whoever does the job is likely to put into the English a good deal that was not in the French. The line, "Je veux, pour composer chastement mes églogues," is rendered by Mr. Dillon: "I want to write a book of chaste and simple verse"—eleven words for seven, an adverb weakened into an adjective, and another adjective put in, the whole effect being blurred. Let us see what Mr. Dillon does to the first stanza of Réversibilité:

> Ange plein de gaîté, connaissez-vous l'angoisse,
> La honte, les remords, les sanglots, les ennuis
> Et les vagues terreurs de ces affreuses nuits
> Qui compriment le cœur comme un papier qu'on froisse . . .

Mr. Dillon:

> Spirit of happiness, hast thou heard tell of woe?
> Hast thou heard tell of anguish, and remorse, and care—
> Of those long nights when in the black fist of Despair
> The heart is crumpled up like paper? . . .

*Ange* is not "spirit." *Gaîté* is not "happiness." *Connaissez-vous* is not "hast thou heard tell of"; but Mr. Dillon needed two more syllables for his hexameter than the simple "Do you know" would have allowed him; so we get the lofty "hast thou" combined with "heard tell of"—a mixed style that turns Baudelaire over in his grave. (Baudelaire frequently combines Racinian rhetoric and the common phrase, but not in this passage.) In the second line the exigencies of English hexameter compel Mr. Dillon to repeat "Hast thou heard tell"; he needs some rapid monosyllables that will maintain the nearly accentless movement of the French; but he is also compelled to break up the emphasis of the original. He breaks the flow of the original by making the first line a unit, end-stopped: *angoisse,* coming first in the series of griefs, is the most abstract and it sets the "tone"; it is followed dramatically by the concrete varieties of grief. The series culminates with *terreurs,* but Mr. Dillon violates it by substituting "long nights," which is not a coordinate term. Baudelaire's list of the afflictions of human nature rises to a powerful climax in the subtle figure of suffocation (*compriment le coeur*) which is suddenly illuminated with marvelous accuracy by means of the simile of the crumpled paper. Mr. Dillon runs it all together in an undergraduate metaphor of his own, which exaggerates out of existence the effect achieved by Baudelaire.

I have labored one point about a stanza that I selected at random. There are passages, even whole poems, in which Mr. Dillon is more successful; there are passages and poems in which Miss Millay is more successful than Mr. Dillon ever is. Here is Miss Millay's beginning for one of the great poems:

> The child, in love with globes and maps of foreign parts,
> Finds in the universe no dearth and no defect . . .

—which is not bad in itself; but it is not Baudelaire:

> Pour l'enfant, amoureux de cartes et d'estampes,
> L'univers est égal à son vaste appétit . . .

This is neither good nor Baudelaire:

> Oh, Death, old captain, hoist the anchor! Come, cast off!
> We've seen this country, Death! We're sick of it! Let's go!

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O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps! levons l'ancre
Ce pays nous ennuie, O Mort! Appareillons!)

The formal invocation of *O Mort* is converted into an expression of personal emotion—"Oh, Death." In English one does not hoist anchor. Nor can one begin to render the passage until one has understood the force of *il est temps!* without which one of the great passages of nineteenth-century verse would be commonplace. Miss Millay omits it. If *Appareillons!* is untranslatable, it is surely not "Let's go!" It is astonishing to see how much that is wrong Miss Millay gets out of *Ce pays nous ennuie!*

Mr. Dillon's version of Lesbos is his best contribution to the book, though here as elsewhere he puts in his own pretty adjectives that give Baudelaire something of a Junior League tone. Miss Millay is at her best, I think, in her rendering of L'Imprévu. Nothing in this book equals James Elroy Flecker's version of Don Juan aux Enfers, or Aldous Huxley's Femmes Damnées. This difficult poem the present translators do not attempt. They give us fewer than half of "Les Fleurs du Mal"; so a fairer title for their book would have been Selections from Baudelaire. The translations by F. P. Sturm, in the Modern Library, will give the reader without French a better introduction to the poet than the more "creative" performance of Mr. Dillon and Miss Millay. Sturm is only a versifier, but he has his eye on Baudelaire; he leaves out a good deal, but he puts in very little of his own. ALLEN TATE

## Upstate Chronicle

*LISTEN FOR A LONESOME DRUM. A YORK STATE CHRONICLE.* By Carl Carmer. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

NOBODY but an upstater could have written a York State chronicle like "Listen for a Lonesome Drum." It is not history, it is not fiction, and I am being polite in accepting Mr. Carmer's own description of it. But it will serve its purpose as well as fiction or history for all who may wish to learn what upstate is really like, or for others, like myself, who may wish to renew old acquaintances.

Upstate New York from the beginning has been the natural gateway to the West—I was going to say America, but if it is a gateway to America it is to that part of the country that has come into being since the early 1800's. Then the Great Western, the Mohawk, and the Seneca turnpikes competed with Mr. Madison's "must" project, the Cumberland road. After 1825 the Erie Canal, and later the New York Central supplementing it, captured most of the traffic to inland America. Over these roads and waterways came men of all creeds and nations, and for a while they came so thick that many were bound to spill off in passage. By virtue of them York State became a sort of distillation of America, filled with contrary ideas, some grotesque, some simply human, some horrible, and some lovely.

Of these, Mr. Carmer, in his own process of renewing acquaintance, has chosen with inspiration. From the first moment of his homecoming to Geneseo, when his small nephew drinks the contents of the bottle on the pantry shelf—the dark one—the book is an authentic revelation of the instincts and the way of thought of the upstater. "I drank it," said Bill, "I thought it was grape juice." Three adults rushed to the porch to regard the twelve-year-old, who sat calmly rocking. "Don't you feel funny?" said his uncle. "No," he said. "Don't you want to go to bed?" said his mother. "No," he said.

One understands at once that the upstater hasn't changed very much in his capacity for swallowing large doses of


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whatever may be new, even though he may consider it grape juice at the time. It is a capacity for thinking big, and sometimes for getting away with it. It is astonishing how many managed in the past to get away with it, and to leave their mark not only on the state but on the country. You may meet most of them in this book; Joseph Smith with his tablets of gold discovered under the guidance of Moroni; Ann Lee, mother of the Shakers; John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community. Others were less successful: the Loomises, of whom the author gives us only a fleeting glimpse without suggesting the political hold they exerted on their locality for nearly forty years; Jemima Wilkinson, who was born twice, and incorporated celibacy in her doctrine (probably her only mistake); and William Miller, for whom the world did not end on time.

These people Mr. Carmer has drawn vividly—but most successful of all are his pictures of the living people he met on his way. Troopers, lumbermen, revivalists, Indians—all of them talk to Mr. Carmer with few reservations. Indeed, unwittingly, he has drawn a portrait of himself that is as clear as any other in the book, sensitive, alert, and with a capacity for friendship.

WALTER D. EDMONDS

## Shorter Notices

*THE EARLIEST DREAMS.* By Nancy Hale. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

The appeal of these stories is to the connoisseur in the deft, the graceful, and the fastidious. Miss Hale's is a medium of considered restraints in which ugliness and excess have no place. The best pieces in the volume are those which seem to be autobiographical sketches. No One My Grief Can Tell is a tender projection of a young mother's love for her small child and her fear of this love's eventual possessiveness. Midsummer deals with the passionate and unstable infatuation of an adolescent girl for her riding instructor. Very credibly we are carried into the world of complex feminine sensibility, and as long as we remain within its confines, the stories appear true and good. When the scope is widened, however, to include the suicide of an untalented art student, as in Art for Art's Sake, the author's shortcomings in negotiable experience become at once apparent. What might be termed a third group of stories is concerned with the struggles of various individuals with impending fate in one form or another; all these stories, however, fall a good deal short of their Chekhovian and Mansfieldian models.

*SALLY: THE STORY OF A FOSTER GIRL.* By John Metcalfe. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

Although the title of this novel suggests a genre of light fiction, this study of vice and crime in underworld London affords reading that is more than ordinarily provocative. Sally is the illegitimate daughter of a dancer in third-rate music-halls. Despite her superior intelligence and sensitivity, she is doomed from the very outset by her sense of belonging to a lost world through birth and inheritance. The majority of characters with which she is thrown inhabit this shady limbo of the "lost" and are excellently portrayed. Conditioned by poverty and necessity, their relations with one another and the difficult world in which they ply their trade as petty criminals are set forth with telling if unduly exhaustive effectiveness. John Metcalfe, an English writer of some distinction, combines accuracy and insight with vigorous criticism of social injustice today.

# RECORDS

A RECORD company invests money only in records it thinks will sell. There is no quarreling with this, particularly if the people who want the things with limited sale can have them by underwriting their cost in advance. And in the past three years the subscription method has been used by His Master's Voice and other foreign companies for the songs of Hugo Wolf, the Goldberg Variations of Bach, works of Purcell, and other things of this sort. But it has been used also where there has been no need of it. If Schnabel's records of Beethoven concertos could be issued in the ordinary way, why not his records of the sonatas; if "Der Rosenkavalier" and "Otello," why not "The Marriage of Figaro"? One objects because what could be a method of increasing the circulation of records actually operates to restrict it.

The records, once made for subscribers—let us say at a special price—should then be available to the entire public. And in England it works out that way. There was at first the objectionable business of "limited editions"—without trade editions; but this has been dropped, and one can buy a volume of Beethoven Sonata Society records in London for the same price as H. M. V.'s other records. In this country, however, the fiction of a society issuing the records means that they are not released by Victor under its own label; and the price of Schnabel's records becomes almost prohibitive.

Victor did, however, issue Volume I of the Sibelius Society three years ago, and has now issued the Violin Concerto from a more recent volume—which is the occasion for these remarks. For whether it is a matter of Victor seeking permission, or of H. M. V. granting it, one asks why only the Violin Concerto, and not the Seventh Symphony, the Sixth Symphony, the String Quartet? And why only Sibelius, and not Beethoven sonatas, Haydn quartets, Mozart operas? In other words, why not sense in the business?

Sibelius offers good reasons for respect and enjoyment, but not for the claims that have been made for him recently. There are painters without anything very important to say who have a feeling for their medium and an ability to use it effectively. Sibelius has this feeling for musical sound, this ability to work well with it; and what he produces sounds so well that the limitations of his thought and feeling are not noticed. A great point has been made of the fact that he does not use Finnish folk-music in his symphonic works; but the real point is that his own material in these works often has the character and feeling of folk-music—when it is not merely pictorial. This type of material is attractive and enjoyable; and Sibelius's ability to work it into large-scale structures has deceived commentators into thinking they were hearing large-scale ideas as well, and to claim for him the constructive mastery of Beethoven. But constructive power is evident and important only in relation to the material on which it operates; and Sibelius simply hasn't the ideas with which to achieve the form-of-content that Beethoven achieves.

The Concerto is a fairly early work—it follows the Second Symphony—but it gives the essential quality of Sibelius's matured musical thinking; for the only difference in the later works is their greater concentration. The performance of the London Philharmonic and Heifetz under the direction of Beecham is excellent, and the recording for the most part as good (four records, $8).

B. H. HAGGIN

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# "The Jew and the World"

[*The following letters are selected from many that* The Nation *has received about Benjamin Stolberg's article. The editors hope to find room for a further selection in a later issue.*]

## WHAT *FORTUNE* MEANT

*Dear Sirs:* Mr. Stolberg's "Answer to the Editors of *Fortune*" makes so much brisk fun, sound reading, and general good sense that no one could take serious exception to it. If I am, as Mr. Stolberg aptly says, a sociological ingenue, he, I assume, is the leading lady. There can be no objection to that.

The title, however, is confusing. What statement of the editors of *Fortune* is Mr. Stolberg answering? He contends that the editors of *Fortune* have not solved the "Jewish problem." I agree. But it is Mr. Stolberg, not the editors of *Fortune,* who offers to do so. The editors of *Fortune* were attempting something much more modest. They were attempting to present certain facts bearing upon the economic position of the Jews in America. Those facts seemed to them pertinent because the rise of fascism with its attendant anti-Semitic propaganda had produced abroad, and might well produce here, prejudicial and highly inflammatory statements on the subject. They said:

> The Jews, in the phraseology of Dr. Ruppin of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, having changed in the eighteenth century from an Oriental people to an Eastern European, have in the last few generations changed from an Eastern European people to a Western European and an American. The apprehensiveness of intelligent Jews [in America] springs from this fact. Realizing that Jews have been the scapegoats of all Western history, that they have been made to bear responsibility for everything from the Black Death to the economic ills of the Germans, these observers fear that the enormous increase in Jewish numbers in America will lead to charges that the Jews have monopolized the opportunities for economic advance and that these charges will pave the way for fascism here as they paved the way for Hitler in Germany.

The editors of *Fortune* felt that this apprehensiveness justified the publication of the facts. Those facts, as Mr. Stolberg would, perhaps, on fairer second thought, admit, had never before been collected and were not all to be found in the Public Library.

It is the publication of this material which Mr. Stolberg has answered and which I must assume he disapproves. But what precisely does he disapprove? Does he disapprove the statement that the claim of Jewish monopolization of economic opportunity was made by the Nazis? Does he disapprove the statement that that claim was an effective bit of inflammatory propaganda? Does he disapprove the suggestion that similar claims may be made here? Does he doubt that such claims could be dangerous? Does he think that the publication of the truth could serve no useful purpose in discouraging them? Or is it his position that the attempt to stop fascism now by an attack upon one of its several ammunition dumps is idle since the revolution will eventually set everything straight? As I recall it there were certain Germans who thought the same thing: they are now generally considered to have erred.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

New York, June 23

## THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTS

*Dear Sirs:* The psychoanalytic verbiage with which Mr. Stolberg befogs the problem of anti-Semitism does not seem to me to help us either to an understanding or to a solution. We ought to recognize that it is the frequent problem that presents itself whenever a socially segregated or racially recognizable group is considered as a unit in which each individual partakes of all those traits that are more or less arbitrarily ascribed to it, often merely on the basis of tradition. No matter whether it is a case of Greeks despising barbarians, nobility the common people, Catholics the Protestants, the castes of India one another, whites the Negroes or Japanese, or Gentiles the Jews; the situation is always the same. It becomes particularly acute for the proscribed class when its members come to be conscious of the fact that they are no longer a class but individuals like the rest of the people among whom they live, and when this claim is not recognized but each individual is still looked upon as a member of the despised group. The demand for racial purity, and with this the prevention of assimilation, is merely an expression of the conflict between groups, social as well as racial. It is manifest in the prevention of marriage between patricians and plebeians, between nobility and commoners, as well as in the ban on interdenominational marriages. Even our socially privileged classes have not learned the simple fact that they should have learned in school and home, that it is the individual who counts, not the class to which he is assigned.

FRANZ BOAS

New York, June 22

## SOLID AND BRILLIANT

*Dear Sirs:* I thought Benjamin Stolberg's article on the Jews, in your issue of June 17, was quite simply the solidest interpretation of anti-Semitism, as well as the most brilliant, that I have ever seen in print in any language.

CLIFTON FADIMAN

New York, June 19

## *MEA CULPA!*

*Dear Sirs:* Thank you for sending the advance copy of the Stolberg article. I think I have seldom seen such an astute and penetrating discussion of this question. And, what is more, it leaves the commentator little or nothing to say but yes or no. My answer is mostly yes, with a little change in the emphasis of his argument.

Many people forget that under the heat and storm, the fighting and stress and argument, which go with the Jewish question in our present day there are biological and physiological factors and trends at work which have a far larger if unconscious weight in settling the matter. These basic activities underlie and finally determine race questions; the Jewish question in the last analysis is a biologic question. And what we know of the history of races taken over the period of historical time points to the fact that races intermarry, lose their identity, are merged or submerged in the welter of the peoples with whom they come in contact. Of course, none of this mingling goes on, or ever went on, without a great deal of mental and physical torture, persecution, warfare, governmental restriction, social ostracism, and all the cruelties which our consciousness can invent to waggle futilely in the face of a natural fact. Probably there is no individual alive on the earth today in the dim, forgotten shadows of whose ancestry there are not many

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individual experiences of just such a type as would occur today in a marriage between a Jew and a Christian. And so, if we wanted to, or could, wait a thousand years or so, we might see the last of this so very troublesome problem. The Jews, who because of the accident of their peculiar history have kept their identity as a race in the minds of many, would be no more; perhaps one might say then that "my great-grandfather twice removed was a Jew," as one says today, "One of my ancestors came over with William the Conqueror," and with just about as much truth.

However, the Jewish problem is today a great problem, and one which brings no one any great pleasure. It would be an intellectual and emotional triumph to have a "fair" attitude. I can hardly believe that any discussion of it does any good, including this. The only profit in taking an attitude is a social one, like liking birds' nest soup in China. Nearly everyone, nevertheless, has an attitude on the Jews. And nearly all these attitudes are emotional and many deeply so, and are much more difficult to change than an ordinary appetite, but are as inevitably acquired. As for me, I have mine, an attitude which leads me to suggest certain things with regard to the solution of the Jewish problem, and probably these are as futile suggestions as any.

It is well known that I have said that I regard the Jews not as Americans, or Germans, or French, but as Jewish Americans, Jewish Germans, Jewish Frenchmen, and, as a consequence, as thinking and acting not entirely as Americans or French or Germans, but as Jewish Americans, etc. I never said that as a race (in its entirety) I wholly disliked and distrusted them. I have paid my compliments to very, very many, and still do, Stolberg among them. I would be wholly ungrateful and unreliable if I said differently. Like the bourgeois in Stolberg's article, I have many Jewish friends. None the less, even among these I have heard some damn portions of the race as this or that, in other words, affirm a number of my charges. And Stolberg points out this sort of action as a characteristic of the problem as a whole. And yet, although their words on occasion have proved emotional fuel to feed my possibly unreasoned attitude, I doubt if they have any more right to say what they do than I. Their opinions are like those of a self-diagnosed patient. Also, when they disagree with me, hold out for the immensely superior social and intellectual qualities of their race, and deny the validity of certain experiences which I have had, well, I don't change then, but only hold on to my attitude with increasing force.

I admit that my attitude is in part emotional. I have said I have had a certain kind of typical experience with Jews, especially in practical matters, and of unvarying consistency. In consequence, I admit that I am likely to believe unquestioningly instances of the same kind when I hear them from others. Probably I am likely to add to this certain things relating to the way some of them live, parts of their culture, etc., which displease me, at times constitute a half-conscious emotional mass which I feel as disagreement, rage, and so on. No doubt today I look for what I dislike in Jews, and dislike what I would normally pass over in another. *Mea culpa!*

At a time like this, when social unrest, nationalism, jingoism, etc. are so rampant, an attitude like mine might in some group, somewhere, lead to a pogrom, to social persecution of the very cruelest and bitterest nature. Yet this is decidedly what I do not want. Rather I have been always seeking some solution. For in the day of violence the obvious causes would not be the real ones. We in America might have as false justifications as there have been in Germany. We would have, of course, economic jealousy as a base. But still, there is always the much more powerful factor of the intangible fanaticism against the scapegoat through which we must always rationalize our unfulfilled desires and disappointments. *Mea culpa!*

Unlike Stolberg, I myself do not think that communism will do away with the Jewish question. Unless it can take away whatever economic necessity there is for jealousy, and for finding scapegoats, and make marriage between Jews and others unstigmatized by either side, it will do no better than capitalism. I do not believe that communism will help the Jewish question by encouraging Jewish nationalism and separatism. Racial, cultural, and religious separatism will lead to just as much division of opinion as there is today.

I can well sympathize with the despairing confusion of the Jew who is at once proud and humiliated. His culture is as good and perhaps better than any. But from his side he will be humiliated as long as he is proud. And from the other he must, for his own sake, be proud as long as he is humiliated.

I once thought that if all the Jews could move into a large country of their own, and build up for themselves a national and cultural unity of which they could be proud and which all the world would respect, that would be a solution. But of course, that idea is impractical in the extreme. I really think today that the sufferings and persecution which this question entails are inevitable, that it is a kind of war, perhaps, which increases in fury until some final solution—perhaps only after years of heartrending, bitter, stupid, even insane cruelty, which I personally would hate to see, have come and gone. Oi! Oi!

There is nothing anyone can do. Social life, economic life, for all of us, whether in connection with the Jews or any other group, runs a bitter, unsettled course. This may sound like defeatism for certain liberal groups. Still their liberality is just as much a part of the constant conflict as is my opposite conviction. "Pardon is the word for all."

THEODORE DREISER

Mount Kisco, N. Y., June 17

## BACK TO TALMADGE!

*Dear Sirs:* Your own inimitable Mr. Stolberg has won himself the rare privilege of resting beside the editors of *Fortune* in whatever mausoleum posterity may set aside for well-intentioned though ill-informed explainers-away of the Jewish question. The author of the article The Jew and the World shows rather clearly that the man who nabbed Talmadge so effectively by the grass roots slipped up rather badly in tackling the Jew.

*The Nation* has not been terribly sympathetic of late with the legitimate national and cultural aspirations of a large section of the Jewish people. However, when you assign someone to handle the Jewish problem you might at least see to it that he is competent to do so. A string of wisecracks tacked on to some shallow platitudes and annoying prejudices hardly befits *The Nation's* way of doing things.

Please send Mr. Stolberg back to Talmadge. We Jews have enough troubles.

H. G. PERELMUTER

Montreal, June 22

## THE RACIAL WILL

*Dear Sirs:* With the closing words of Mr. Stolberg's article on the Jews, "The answer is Marxism," I agree; but I have some reservations about most of the arguments by which he arrives at his answer. The answer is Marxism in the sense that a society founded upon an economic and social mechanism compatible with the necessities of a technical age will not allow cultural and racial distinctions to become cause and occasion for such cul-

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tural psychoses as characterize our present society. In a dying culture and a disintegrating civilization, in which all universal validities have either been destroyed or become bogus, it is natural that some men should seek to rescue meaning from chaos by trying to interpret the meaning of life purely in terms of their relation to their tribe. Mr. Stolberg is quite right in pointing out that this tribalism may be a sign of sickness among Jews just as much as among anti-Semites. It is natural, too, that the ruling oligarchies of a disintegrating social system should exploit and nourish this tribalism in order to sow dissension among their foes and to maintain unnatural alliances with classes which ought, on economic grounds, to be allied with their enemies.

My difficulty with Mr. Stolberg's analysis is that he seems to interpret all racial solidarity of either majority or minority groups, together with the resulting interracial friction, as a sickness or a psychosis. That is true only in the sense that all human life is sick and will continue to be so even in a new society; that is, the will-to-live of both individuals and groups will continue to provoke friction and conflict. Mr. Stolberg would like to eliminate such conflict entirely. He declares that he does not want either assimilation or segregation. But the whole logic of his argument runs in the direction of assimilation. He begins his thesis by dispelling "the illusion of Jewish endogamy and racial purity." He declares that "Jews exist, if only as a state of mind," and the inference is that they exist only as a state of mind. What is proved by showing that Jews are not strictly endogamous and that a variety of blood has entered their veins? That is equally true of every other race. Yet racial distinctions persist.

We do not solve the problem between Pole and German or between German and Frenchman by proving that none of these racial groups are pure. Though no racial group is purely endogamous, all of them have maintained some kind of collective existence. The Jew has performed the more difficult feat of maintaining a collective life though he has no geographic locus from which to operate. Such collective life, as all life, maintains itself partly in defensive and partly in offensive terms. Defense may become a diseased isolationism, and offensive strategy may become a diseased imperialism. A minority group is naturally more liable to the former than to the latter disease. Only in that sense are the severe strictures of Mr. Stolberg against Jewish racial politicians justified.

Mr. Stolberg says he wants neither assimilation nor segregation, but he offers no third possibility. The answer for him is simply Marxism. But Marxism in Russia means assimilation, does it not? It would be possible, of course, for a socialist society to try some other solution. Assimilation is not dictated by Marxian logic. But it is suggested by a certain tendency in Marxism toward impatience with the irrational and organic facts of human existence. This tendency is implied, though not explicitly stated, in the whole course of Mr. Stolberg's argument.

The Jew has a right to continue to exist as a collective group even though his collective will-to-live, expressed both defensively and offensively, will complicate the problem of social reorganization just as the racial will of every other racial group, involved in an economically interdependent world, complicates that problem. One might add that the maintenance of every individual, as well as of every collective life, is the cause of friction as well as the occasion for new harmonies. While the Jew would be well advised to withdraw his moral support from an economic system which aggravates interracial friction, he ought neverthless to be critical of a too simple and naive radicalism which offers him salvation in terms of the annihilation of assimilation.

The only complete harmony in life is in death, whether for individuals or groups. If Mr. Stolberg understood that better, he would have more appreciation of the religious sense of guilt which he also regards as a psychosis.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, June 15

## A NESSUS SHIRT

*Dear Sirs:* With melancholy amusement I have just read Benjamin Stolberg's article The Jew and the World. That Mr. Stolberg's Jewishness is a Nessus shirt to him which he wants to get rid of by the new, universal patent-medicine nostrum of Marxism—*that* he has in common with all the red and pink assimilationists. But it is less excusable to be so strident and so ignorant. Two examples suffice.

"The Christian revolution against the pharisaism of the Jewish theocracy . . ." Yes, they still teach that stuff in one-building theological schools, where no glimmer of Travers Herford's works on the Pharisees or of the researches of the late George Foote Moore have yet penetrated, and where the findings of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* would be anathema. So it comes most curiously about that the red assimilationist of today belabors his people with the detritus of dead Christian theologians.

As for Mr. Stolberg's "little Jewish tailor who shouts in Yiddish"—note the Jewish self-hatred in that "little" and that "shouts"—I can tell Mr. Stolberg precisely why he's less race-conscious than the "big German Jewish banker." It is because it never occurred to that tailor, speaking his *mame-loshen* and reading the great Yiddish dailies, that he could be anything but a Jew and a member of the living Jewish people. And it will disappoint Mr. Stolberg further that this Jewish tailor will be nine times out of ten a Labor Zionist, a member of the Histadruth—a Socialist, true, but a Jewish Socialist.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Burlington, Vt., June 18

## UNVARNISHED TRUTH

*Dear Sirs: The Nation* has done an amazingly courageous thing in publishing Benjamin Stolberg's The Jew and the World; it proves its claim that liberal journalism is not yet dead. Mr. Stolberg's article will offend and perhaps shock some people: but doesn't the plain, unvarnished truth usually do that? It is to be hoped that the article will provoke an honest searching of hearts on the part of Jews and non-Jews alike; for there has been too much courteous silence about the whole business in this country. I, for one, am willing to say flatly that Mr. Stolberg has written the wittiest, of course, but also the wisest discussion of the Jewish question that I have read. Like him, I am sick of the fake pretensions of the professional Jews to speak for the "Jewish community"; for I know, from long personal experience, that segregation is acceptable to them as long as the property relationship remains untouched.

Recently, in an effort to enlist the financial support, in an enterprise against Nazism, of one of the most prominent of these Jewish leaders—a young and very ambitious banker—I was told flatly by him that he did not disapprove of fascism. The Jews could protect themselves, he said, by repairing their spiritual fences. In other words, a return to the actual Ghetto was thoroughly acceptable to him as long as the authority of rabbi and money lender (which, in the final analysis, meant the money lender's authority alone) remained unquestioned. Those of us who feel as Mr. Stolberg does—who do not want to see the reestablishment of the physical Ghetto and who abominate and fear the false leadership of the money lenders—will accept his prescription as the only true one. Anti-Semitism and segregation are rooted in a class society. Mr. Stolberg and *The Nation* are to be

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congratulated, he for writing and you for publishing, this brilliant and disconcerting and profound analysis.

LOUIS M. HACKER

New York, June 12

## WHAT ZIONISTS WANT

*Dear Sirs:* Benjamin Stolberg's parade of epigrams is an exceedingly cheap display at this time, when German Jewry is hounded, when 1,500,000 Polish Jews are living on the verge of starvation, and when the only refuge for persecuted Jews is being ruthlessly sabotaged by an alliance of Arab feudalism, Italian and German fascism, a nascent Arab nationalism, and the tacticians of international communism seeking a united front with all four.

The charge that Zionists want to segregate Jews is as valid as the charge that class war is the creation of reds and agitators. Zionism merely wants to render Jewish life creative. If Marxism produces a receding margin of failures, the creative impulses liberated by the national renaissance will make the desirability of writing *finis* to over 3,500 years of Jewish history rather dubious. Why should I as a Canadian Jew sacrifice my identity with Jewish culture when one of the basic realities of the dominion is the foundation of the national life in cultural diversity?

MARVIN B. GELBER

Toronto, June 20

## A RECIPROCAL PSYCHOSIS

*Dear Sirs:* I write to tell you how much I liked Mr. Stolberg's dissertation on the Jews. I completely agree with his psychological interpretation, though I'm less hopeful than he that Marxism will change the psychology. However, it was very much worth saying that anti-Semitism represents a reciprocal psychosis, in which elements of unwholesome attraction as well as revulsion appear. That the economic situation has exacerbated this psychosis is of course obvious. Even in small places in the country one can now hear ominous rumblings. Failing Mr. Stolberg's solution, can anything be done? I believe it can, but I hesitate to mention it, because the subject is painful and difficult.

There is no reason to expect the great mass of Gentiles to do anything to resolve the situation. The fact that psychoanalysis was first developed by Jewish men of science suggests that there is at least a tendency toward mental therapy among the Jews. Mr. Stolberg's witty and often brilliant analysis sets the problem. If the Jew and the world are like a married couple held in pathological bonds, can the Jew introduce an aspect of sanity into this union? We know how a relatively sane person living closely with a psychotic mate may lose touch temporarily with reality and come to accept false premises. As Janet says, abnormality is "catching." The Jew, with his memories of pogroms and persecutions, is like a woman who was raped in her youth and who, continuing to expect a similar traumatic experience, is not able to accept the good marriage which life now is offering to her. It is understandable that she should have difficulty in throwing off this traumatic experience, but she must throw it off if she is to go on to a happier adjustment. For if she goes around expecting to be outraged, she probably will be again. There are *persécutées* as well as persecutors.

Mental hygiene seems to be particularly needed for the Jews—a mental hygiene which will help them to ignore the memory of ancient grievances and check the tradition of anticipating future outrage. This is difficult, isn't it — practically heroic? I didn't mean to write so much—only to say I am glad *The Nation* could publish Mr. Stolberg's article.

LORINE PRUETTE

New York, June 22

## CLEAR AND UNBIASED

*Dear Sirs:* I have just finished reading with a great deal of pleasure the article The Jew and the World, by Benjamin Stolberg, appearing in *The Nation* of June 17.

Mr. Stolberg has put into words in a very clear and definite way the feelings and thoughts that I have had upon this topic for many years. Needless to say, he has done a very much better job than I could ever hope to do.

It pleased me very much to find this material presented so clearly without any particular emotion or bias. I wish to compliment both you and Mr. Stolberg on this splendid piece of work.

ARTHUR FRANK PAYNE,
Consulting Psychologist

New York, June 11

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JAMES RORTY, in his book "Our Master's Voice," did some very necessary and salutary debunking of the American advertising business. In this issue he contributes the second of a series of four articles on medical politics.

CORRESPONDENTS contributing letters to the editors on Mr. Stolberg's article The Jew and the World number among others Theodore Dreiser, who aroused tremendous interest by his opinions on anti-Semitism expressed in a correspondence with Hutchins Hapgood in *The Nation* a year ago; Archibald MacLeish, poet and editor of *Fortune;* Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of the philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary; Clifton Fadiman, book reviewer for the *New Yorker;* Franz Boas, professor of anthropology at Columbia University and authority on race problems; Ludwig Lewisohn, leading Jewish scholar and exponent of Zionism, literary critic and novelist; Lorine Pruette, author of "Women and Leisure"; Louis M. Hacker, historian and member of the economics faculty of Columbia.

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